



TWELFTH

ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 24, 1844.



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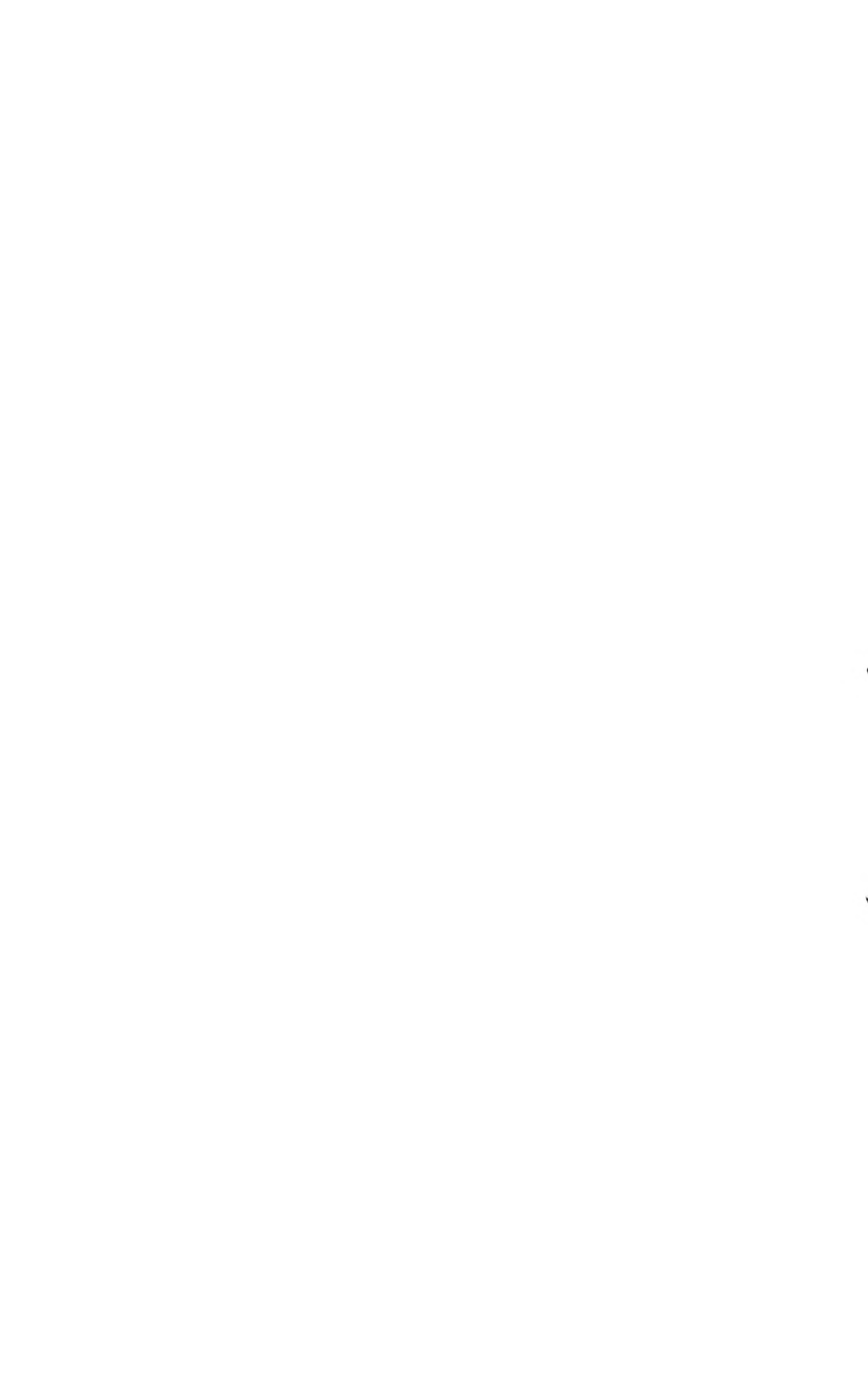
WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:

OLIVER JOHNSON, COURT STREET.

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1844.



## R E P O R T .

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THE Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in presenting to their constituents the Twelfth Annual Report of their official proceedings, would congratulate them on the progress which the movement has made during the past year, notwithstanding the fewness of the numbers, and the scantiness of the means, of the Abolitionists of the United States, and in spite of their dim perception and imperfect discharge of their duty. The brief sketch of the general history of the cause, during the term of their service, with which it has been usual for the Board to accompany their account of their own stewardship, will not be marked by so many extraordinary occurrences as have diversified some of their previous anti-slavery annals. But it will not be without some of those salient events, which serve as monuments to mark the progress of the great moral Revolution, in the midst of which we live; a Revolution, which, happily, though we may retard its advance by our treachery or our folly, can never go backwards; but which, with our help or in our despite, must accomplish its noble purpose. In the performance of this task, the Board have once more to regret, that circumstances have again deprived them of the services of the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, whose experience, faithfulness and ability so eminently qualify him to assist them in this part of

their duty. We can only promise a faithful account of our own doings in the service of the Society, an impartial, though necessarily an imperfect sketch of the principal events of the last twelve months, and a hasty glance at the present posture, dangers, and prospects of the cause. We commend our labors to the candor of those who have required them at our hands.

#### LATIMER'S CASE.

Since the last Annual Meeting of this Society, the wholesome excitement which had been produced in the public mind by the illustration afforded of the servile position in which the North is placed with regard to the South, through the Constitutional influences of the Slave Power, by the case of George Latimer, has been rewarded with just and happy results. The immediate effects of that righteous indignation were seen in the great multitudes who approached the Legislature of Massachusetts to demand that their ancient Commonwealth should never again be insulted by the conversion of her jails into barracoons, and her sworn servants and judicial officers into the minions of the slave-catcher. The voice that was uttered in this behalf was loud and imperative. It went up from the vallies, and was echoed back from the hills. Scarcely a hamlet could be found that did not make itself heard. Public meetings were held in every county, and in almost every town, and sent up expressions of indignation and determination too distinct to be misunderstood. The number of signatures appended to the Massachusetts and Great Latimer Petition was greater than had ever been obtained for any legislative purpose; and the list would have been swelled to a yet greater amount, had time permitted. In this movement there was no distinction of party or sect, but persons of all descriptions united in their efforts to free the soil of Massachusetts, for the future, from the polluting presence of the



slave-hunter. A public meeting of the petitioners was held in Faneuil Hall on the 17th of February, when the immense petition was delivered by the Committee, which had it in charge, to Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, by whom it was presented, on the same day, to the House of Representatives. To the zeal and ability of this gentleman in the management of the business, its successful issue was in a great degree attributable. The result of this movement was, the passage of a law, with very few dissenting voices, making it a penal offence for any magistrate or executive officer of the State to assist in the arrest or delivery of any person claimed as a fugitive slave, and prohibiting those having charge of the jails and other places of confinement to use them for his detention. The dignity of official slave-catchers for the State of Massachusetts is now, therefore, monopolized by the Judges and officers of the United States' Courts for this District.

#### REPEAL OF THE INTERMARRIAGE LAW.

The Repeal of the portion of the Marriage Act forbidding the intermarriage of persons of different races was at length accomplished, after a struggle of several years, during the last session of the General Court. The question was taken in the House upon the passage of the bill to be engrossed, on the 22d of February, and it was decided in the affirmative, by a vote of one hundred and seventy-four yeas to one hundred and thirty-nine nays. It afterwards passed the Senate with but three or four dissenting voices. This triumph over ancient prejudice and hereditary wrong was purchased by the Abolitionists of Massachusetts at the cost of long years of effort and of obloquy. Nothing that ribald and fanatic Prejudice could say was left unsaid in the halls of legislation, by the political and religious press and by the pro-slavery public, to deter the friends of equal rights from pressing this demand, and to dissuade the Legislature from

granting it. But the agitation of the subject for four or five years had produced a change in the public mind, which demanded a corresponding change in the legislation of the State. As soon as the cause had been created, the effect necessarily followed. This triumph was the more gratifying, because it afforded a proof of the practical soundness of the policy recommended by this Society with regard to political action. This question had not been incorporated with the policy of any party, as one of its measures, though it was adopted by individual members of all; yet, by the unwearied importunities of the friends of equal rights and the enemies of the hateful prejudice which is at once the child and the parent of slavery, and by their assiduous efforts to purify the source from whence all political power flows, within a comparatively short period of time, their labors were crowned with success. This was another proof to add to the many which the anti-slavery action of the Legislature of Massachusetts has afforded, that the true policy of the Abolitionists is, to make use of the existing political parties for the accomplishment of their purposes, rather than to expend their energies upon the establishment of a third.

#### RAILWAY BILL.

The Bill forbidding Railway Corporations within this Commonwealth to make invidious distinctions between travellers on account of their color, was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 171 to 61, after a long debate. Its passage was disputed on various grounds. One gentleman opposed it because it did not meet the wants of the country, and because the Railroad Directors had not been consulted! Another because the petitions were chiefly from *whites*; and because incorporated hotels, churches, and common carriers might as well be included in the bill! Others because it would prevent conductors from assign-

ing separate cars to schools and religious societies, and a holy horror thrilled through their veins at the possibility of a colored man intruding himself among a school of girls, or an Irish laborer among a party of Methodists ! Mr. ADAMS admitted the right of the Legislature to pass the bill, but doubted its expediency. There were but two Railways (the Eastern and New Bedford and Taunton) that retained the odious distinction. Had the operation of the bill been confined to the by-laws of those two companies, he should have been ready to vote for it. He advised those corporations to repeal those by-laws *instantly*. He thought the time had not yet arrived, when the Legislature was called upon to interfere, but that the point would yet be gained through the influence of public sentiment alone. The bill was defended with much ability by Messrs. ALLEN of Northfield, PRINCE of Essex, THOMAS of Charlestown, WHEELER of Watertown, HOLBROOK of Boston, and others. It was opposed chiefly by Messrs. FOWLE, GIBBENS, PARK, BROOKS, BIGELOW and ADAMS, of Boston. Some of these gentlemen differed widely from others in the decency and temper of their remarks ; but it would perhaps not be improper to indicate Mr. JOHN C. PARK as the main champion of the existing system of injustice and outrage. His opposition to the bill was marked by the same characteristics of thought and expression, which have for several years past placed him deservedly at the head of the pro-slavery party of the State Legislature.

We are happy to have reason to believe that the agitation of this question has had the effect which Mr. Adams anticipated, and that no distinctions any longer exist upon any of the Railways of Massachusetts. Whether, if this change in the policy of those Corporations be made in good faith and be honestly carried out, it will be advisable to continue to demand the further protection of law for the rights of travellers, is a question for

further consideration. But of one thing we may be assured, that if the outrages of former years be renewed, the time is near when the public sentiment of the State will demand that they cease forever, and be gathered into the receptacle of forgotten barbarisms.

#### RIGHTS OF COLORED SEAMEN AND OTHERS IN SLAVE PORTS.

The indignity and insult, to which not merely the people of color, but all the inhabitants of the free States, have been subjected for more than twenty years, by the arrest and imprisonment of their fellow citizens in certain southern ports, for no crime but their complexion, have excited increasing attention during the past year. The memorial which was sent up to Congress by many of the principal merchants and other gentlemen of Boston previously to our last Report, elicited from Mr. WINTHROP, on the part of the Committee of Commerce, an extended and very able Report. It concluded with a series of resolutions declaring the seizure and imprisonment of free colored seamen to be a violation of the Constitution, a breach of the amity of nations, an invasion of the treaty-making power, and a contravention of the paramount power of the general government to regulate commerce; and that the police power of the States could justify no such enactments, which are in conflict with the fundamental principles of the National Compact.

In the Legislature of Massachusetts the petitions on this subject were referred to a Joint Committee, of which Mr. ADAMS was Chairman, which made a Report responding in all respects to the prayer of the petitioners. It concluded with Resolutions declaring that the perseverance of many States in seizing and imprisoning her citizens without the allegation of crime, is calculated to weaken her confidence in the disposition of those States to maintain their Constitutional engagements; also authorizing

the Governor to appoint agents, one in Charleston and another in New Orleans, for one year, to collect and transmit accurate information respecting the number and names of such citizens of Massachusetts, who have been thus imprisoned; the said agent to be empowered to bring one or more suits in behalf of any such citizens so imprisoned, at the expense of Massachusetts, for the purpose of having the legality of such imprisonment tried in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Under these resolutions, after several months had elapsed, Governor Morton appointed Mr. Benjamin Faneuil Hunt, of Charleston, a native of Massachusetts, and Mr. John A. Maybin, of New Orleans, the agents for their respective cities. Mr. Hunt never took the slightest notice of his appointment; and Mr. Maybin declined the office on the ground that it was incompatible with the duties he owed to the State of which he was a citizen! Governor Morton subsequently appointed an agent for New Orleans. Whether the appointment has been accepted we have not learned. What the newly-elected Governor (Mr. Briggs) will do in the matter, remains to be seen.

It is a fact worthy of observation, that, since the determined attitude which Massachusetts has assumed on this subject, a corresponding change has taken place in the tone and posture of South Carolina. The Governor of that State, in his last message to the Legislature, recommended a modification of the existing law, so as to permit colored men to remain on board their ships, and exempting them from imprisonment unless they should presume to land. The reason given by his Excellency for this change was, that the intercourse of the imprisoned freemen was of evil effect upon their enslaved fellow prisoners! The appropriate Committee, of which Mr. Hunt was the Chairman, reported a bill in conformity with the recommendation of the Governor. It passed the House by a large majority, but was rejected in the

Senate. This modification of that atrocious law would have been a material mitigation of the hardships and dangers of our colored citizens in that port, but it could never have been accepted as a sufficient discharge of the duties of South Carolina towards Massachusetts in regard to the equal rights secured by the Constitution to the citizens of each State within the limits of every other State. This demonstration, however, on the part of the leading slave State of the Union, is a pregnant proof that the gasconading spirit of the South will ever quail before the calm and resolute determination of the North, whenever it can be aroused to the vindication of its rights and the assertion of its principles of universal freedom.

#### JOINT MEMORIAL FOR THE AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

It cannot with justice be denied, that the last General Court of Massachusetts honorably distinguished itself, upon the whole, from previous Legislatures, by its action in relation to slavery and its influences upon the interests of the North. Besides the repeal of the disgraceful prohibitions of the Marriage Act, and their action with regard to the rights of a portion of our citizens in the slave States, they passed, with scarcely a dissenting voice, a joint memorial requesting Congress to take the preliminary steps towards an amendment of the Constitution, which should deprive the slaveholders of the preposterous advantage they possess over the inhabitants of the free States in the representation of three-fifths of their human cattle, and place the national representation upon the basis of the free population. This memorial was presented by Mr. ADAMS early in the present session of Congress. It created a strong and staggering sensation. That the Democratic Legislature of Massachusetts, with its strong Whig minority, should have passed a memorial, with almost entire unanimity, demanding the unconditional surrender of the

palladium of the Slave Interest, was indeed an appalling circumstance. It was a symptom of a deep change in the public mind of the North as to its rights, and of an awakening determination to vindicate them. It was a demonstration as startling as it was unexpected. Mr. ADAMS moved its reference to a Select Committee of nine members. Mr. JAMESON, of Missouri, moved that it be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The House had previously refused to rescind the Twenty-third Rule, which excludes the reception of petitions relating to slavery, upon the temporary adoption of the Rules and Orders of the last Congress, until new ones could be reported. The Massachusetts memorial might, with no greater violence of construction than had excluded many other petitions, have been brought within the prohibition of that rule. But it seemed to be instinctively conceded, on the part of the Slave Interest, that this was not a case to be so dealt with. Mr. WISE, who has heretofore distinguished himself as the leader of the hosts of Slavery in their assaults upon the Right of Petition, and upon whatever of Northern privilege might endanger the supremacy of the Slave Power, declared in his place, that after this demonstration on the part of Massachusetts, he should withdraw from the contest and vote hereafter for the admission and reference of all petitions on the subject of slavery! 'From this day forth and forever,' said he, 'I withdraw from the fight!' He went on to explain that he did not mean to surrender the rights of his constituents by this course; 'God in his infinite mercy forbid! But I say solemnly, before God, as a Southern man, we are worsted in this fight. To Mr. Adams and those with him, I leave the responsibility of doing what they will. But here, in the name of God and of my country, upon whose altar I have sworn to defend the Constitution, I tell those gentlemen of the awful responsibility they incur by this attempt to destroy the Constitution!' And he then

pledged himself to renew this battle with all his powers, not in that place, but before his constituents and the people of our common country. Whether this burst of eloquence were the honest expression of the speaker's change of opinion and of purpose, or whether it were a gasconade to frighten into their propriety some of the Northern janissaries of slavery, who seemed to threaten rebellion to their liege lords, we cannot undertake to say. The point contested was, whether the memorial should be referred to a Select Committee, or to the Judiciary Committee, at whose hands it would be more likely to receive the doom it deserved. Mr. BELSAR, of Alabama, regarding the resolutions as a movement to dissolve the Union, moved to lay them upon the table, which the House refused to do by a vote of *one hundred and four to sixty-four*. After this decided expression of the sense of the House, Mr. JAMESON withdrew his motion, and the memorial was referred to a Select Committee without a division.

Mr. ADAMS availed himself of an opportunity which was afforded him by a vote of the House to suspend the rules in his favor, to define his position with respect to the matter of slavery and anti-slavery. The tone of his speech was on the whole highly conciliatory towards the South. He disclaimed being an abolitionist in any other sense than that in which Thomas Jefferson (who lived and died a slaveholder) was one. And while expressing his hope that slavery would be extinguished at some indefinite future period, he seemed to regard that happy consummation as one of the glories of the millennial age. While doing justice to the intelligence, virtue, high rectitude and ardent patriotism of many of the abolitionists, he distinctly disavowed agreement or sympathy with the measures they pursue and advocate. As to these, he thought '*they are often and greatly mistaken; the tendency of their course is to retard the coming of that blessed day for which they sigh!*' He wished it to be 'distinctly



understood that he disclaimed all purpose or desire to interfere with the institutions of the South.' If Mr. Adams meant by this language that he is opposed to all *moral* interference with those institutions, to all agitation of the subject at the North for the purpose of enlightening the public mind with regard to them, he has confirmed suspicions with regard to his opinions on the subject, which have been excited by his expressions on other occasions in many minds, but which the friends of his fame have ever indignantly repudiated. If he meant that he was opposed to all direct *legislative* interference with those institutions, or *military invasion* to subvert them, he did but echo the reiterated declarations of the abolitionists ever since the anti-slavery enterprise began. If he believed or meant to imply, that they held different opinions from his own on this subject, he showed that he did not understand what the measures were which he thus authoritatively condemned before the nation. So, if he meant that it should be inferred from his expression of his own wish that emancipation 'should be effected peaceably and quietly, by the will of those who now hold the slaves in bondage; convinced that such an issue is as much for their own interest as it possibly can be of those who shall be disenthralled,' that the abolitionists held any other opinion or proposed any other plan for the abolition of slavery in the slave States than this, he did them great injustice. Their whole policy and all their measures have been directed to this very end, to convince the slaveholders, and all who were directly or indirectly sustaining them, at the North or at the South, in Church and in State, of the duty, safety and advantage of immediate emancipation. And it does certainly sound somewhat strangely, if not ludicrously, to hear Mr. ADAMS condemning the measures of the abolitionists as having a tendency to retard emancipation, at the very time when he was presenting a memorial for the removal of the element of slavery

from the Constitution — a direct result of those very measures ; and was rejoicing in the prospect of the right of petition being at length vouchsafed to the people of the United States, extorted by the importunities of those very abolitionists !

While we regret that this eminent man does not see with our eyes that immediate emancipation is the duty of the master, and the right of the slave under all circumstances ; without being in any wise modified by the political arrangements which the masters have made for their own protection in injustice ; still it is but just to say, that he has made no secret of his opinions on this subject from the beginning. He has ever emphatically declared his intention to vote against any proposition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, unless upon the prayer of the inhabitants of the District themselves. Great as the services have been that Mr. ADAMS has rendered to his country in these latter and evil days, they have been services for the *white man*, the vindication of the insulted rights of *freemen*, and the protection of his own constituents ; he has never placed himself by the side of the outraged *slave*, and demanded instant justice for his world of wrongs. Justice to ourselves as well as to Mr. ADAMS demands that we assent, however reluctantly, to his disclaimer of being an abolitionist in the truest and noblest meaning of that word.

Much as we may regret the opinions on the subject of the abolition of slavery which Mr. ADAMS has ever held and expressed, we can have no right to question the honesty with which he holds them, the sincerity with which he has expressed them, or the consistency which he has shown with regard to them. But we may at least be permitted to point out the discrepancy between the professions and the conduct of the third party in Mr. Adams's district, at the last Congressional election, in virtually accepting him, in spite of his well known opinions as to measures

declared by that party to be vital, as well as of his public repudiation of the distinctive idea (immediate emancipation) of the anti-slavery movement, as their candidate, and, in effect, deciding the election in his favor. In the face of the loud declarations of the party that they can support no man for office who is not a member of it, and while they opposed the re-election of Mr. GIDDINGS, who accepts all their principles of '*immediateism*,' because he was a member of the Whig party, they could sustain the election of Mr. ADAMS, who was no less a Whig, and who rejects the very vital principle and measures of their political movement. It may be doubted whether either of the great parties have ever been guilty of a greater dereliction of their own avowed principles, or displayed a more marked instance of political profligacy than was exhibited, and justified by its leaders, in this case, by the third party.

The exultation with which this disposition of the Massachusetts Memorial, and the prospect that the petitions of the people may be at last received by their own servants, have been welcomed, and justly, by the press and by the people, is a mournful commentary upon the practical working of our boasted republican institutions. In a little more than half a century from the formation of the government, it is a matter of just triumph that the memorial of a sovereign State, asking for an amendment of the Constitution, is received by the national House of Representatives and referred to an appropriate Committee! And a veteran statesman, an Ex-President of the United States, the Nestor of the Republic, acquires his latest and greenest laurels by his long and perilous conflict for that simplest of natural rights, the right of prayer,—that plainest of republican privileges, the people's privilege of indicating their will to their official servants,—which the Fathers of the Republic thought too self-evident to be recapitulated in the first draught of the National Compact! The

descendants of the men of Seventy-six, the boastful citizens of the model Republic, will hail as a signal triumph, should it ever be achieved, the recovery from their own servants, after a contest of years, of the right which the most rigorous despotism on earth has never dared to deny to the meanest of its slaves! the denial of which would speedily consign the Czar to Siberia, or the Sultan to the bowstring!

#### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The disgrace of affording to the slave system its citadel and its emporium in the Capital of the United States, still adheres to every inhabitant who does not free his soul from the guilt by continual protestation. Slavery in the District still affords our fairest and most feasible point of attack, the surrender of which will involve the virtual downfall of the system throughout the land. It is to be hoped that the abolitionists will not become weary of this warfare, just as we discern the first symptoms of discomfiture in the ranks of the enemy. We are happy to have reason to hope that some improvement in the practical operation of the cruel slave code of the nation, (of the nominally free, as well as of the slave States,) may soon take place. Mr. Giddings has recently presented to Congress the petition of a free man, imprisoned in our jail at Washington, on suspicion of servitude; and thus brought that atrocious system of laws, which would disgrace the Dey of Algiers or the Bey of Tunis, before the consideration of Congress and the country. It is hardly possible that the public exposure of those atrocities should not be followed by some mitigation of their horrors.

#### VERMONT.

The Legislature of this State has again showed itself to be worthy of representing freemen by passing laws similar to those

enacted in Massachusetts, for the protection of its soil from the contamination of the slave-hunter. The hardy mountaineers have thus shown a fresh determination that under the shadow of their green hills, at least, the hunted fugitive shall find a shelter, and have embraced this new opportunity of uplifting their testimony against slavery and in behalf of liberty.

#### MAINE.

A bill of a similar description was introduced into the Legislature of Maine, and passed the House by a large majority, but was rejected in the Senate. This circumstance affords good reason to hope that this daughter of Massachusetts will ere long free herself also from all participation in the guilt of upholding slavery, and forbid her judges and officers from being made the tools of the oppressor.

#### TEXAS.

The signs of the times have seemed during the past year to indicate a renewed and more hopeful determination on the part of the Slave Power to accomplish its darling project of the annexation of Texas to the United States. The voice of the collective wisdom of several of the slave States has been heard demanding this new bulwark of their institutions. Influential members of Congress, such as Mr. GILMER and Mr. WISE of Virginia, have publicly expressed their hope and determination that this unhallowed union should be completed. Servile presses in some of the free States have taken up the burden of their masters' song, and endeavored to lull the people into a false and fatal security. The organs of the small faction which the acting President of the United States has gathered around him, have been especially busy in preparing the way for this nefarious deed. It has been supposed that Mr. TYLER is desirous of sig-

nalizing his accidental administration by this event; and it was confidently expected that his late message would contain a distinct recommendation of the measure. If such were ever his intention, he changed his plan, for some sufficient reason, and only shadowed forth the possible event, in guarded, though pregnant phrase. With the usual consistency of the defenders of the interests of slavery, the President threatens England, by strong implication, with war, if she should interfere to procure the abolition of slavery in Texas, while at the same time he professes that humanity and justice demand that the United States interfere to put an end to the warlike posture which Mexico still maintains towards her revolted province. And he concludes this portion of his Message with this meaning sentence: 'The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the Executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action.'

Perhaps this guarded and artful, but not less significant intimation of the deep design against the liberties at once of the slaves and of the free States, was caused by the loud tone of remonstrance which has been raised against it by presses and members of all parties. Not long after the adjournment of Congress, an address was put forth to the people of the free States, warning them of this conspiracy, recounting the proofs of its existence, pointing out its fatal tendency, and inviting the people of all parties to unite to prevent its success, to preserve the Constitution from gross violation, and to prevent the speedy and violent dissolution of the Union. This address was signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and twelve other members of Congress. It was extensively read, and produced a wide and deep impression upon

the public mind. Endeavors were made to throw suspicion upon this movement, from the fact that most, if not all, of these gentlemen were Whigs, and to create a belief that it was a mere political manœuvre. Even if this were the case, of which there is no satisfactory proof, their motive could not impair the accuracy of their statements and the force of their arguments. The country is indebted to them for their warning voice, and if it is but heeded, it will be of but small consequence what motive induced them to utter it in the ears of the people.

The slaveholders of the South have never ceased to gloat with ravenous eyes upon the fertile plains of Texas, since their great natural wealth was disclosed, and since the exhaustion of their own luxuriant soil has called for a new world for the desolating conquests of slavery. But the more immediate cause of the sudden urgency with which the annexation of Texas is demanded, was probably the knowledge of a project, — how extensively entertained, or how nearly matured, we have no means of knowing, — of abolishing slavery with the assistance and co-operation of England. That such a result would take place, were the ancient inhabitants and the land-owners of Texas free from the duress of the profligate banditti that have made that delicious country their haunt and spoil, is highly probable from the obvious inducements which an enlightened self-interest would hold out to such a course. But it is scarcely to be expected that a measure which would be the death-blow of American slavery would be permitted to take place without desperate resistance on the part of the Slave Interest in Texas and that of their fellow conspirators in the States. It was doubtless to provide against this possible danger, that the late clamorous demands have been made for the incorporation of its territory with our own.

There can be but little doubt, that during the present session of Congress an attempt will be made to accomplish the purpose

of this conspiracy against justice, humanity and freedom. How or when it will be made, we cannot predict; but we may be sure that it will be at the moment when the watchful spirit of the North is least upon its guard. The subtle spirit of slavery has, in every instance, previously to the anti-slavery enterprize, been able to accomplish any end it proposed to itself, by force or fraud. The circumstance that it has been for once defeated, or at least delayed, in the accomplishment of one of its darling projects, will not be likely to deprive it of its determined purpose, or of its wily arts. It is not too much to say that the success or the failure of this project, involving as it does the dearest interests of the free as well as the bond, depends upon the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the abolitionists. It was owing solely to their exertions that Texas was not added to the slave States seven years ago. At that time, though all classes of men professed in private to be implacable opponents of the annexation, and even would round you in the ear with their threats to dissolve the Union and march upon the South should it take place, yet there could scarce a man be found, out of the ranks of committed abolitionists, who had the courage to sign a petition against it. And when, in the year 1837, Faneuil Hall was obtained for a public meeting to express the public sentiment of Boston on the subject, no prominent member of either of the political parties, though invited, ventured to attend it, nor did a political newspaper, with one or two exceptions, dare to print the proceedings, even as an advertisement! But even in those dastardly and truckling days, the abolitionists were enabled, by incessant watchfulness and labor, to present such a front of opposition to the South, that it sullenly relinquished its purpose for awhile. If, in those dark and evil times, we could disappoint the Slave Power, for the first time in the history of the country, of what it regarded as a vital measure, we may surely take heart



and hope at the present day, when we have brought even politicians to see that men may speak a word displeasing to their masters and yet live, and when so great a change has been effected in the moral perceptions of the general mind. If we were able to man the breach against the hosts of slavery when our numbers were but enough to make up 'that hope misnamed forlorn,' it would surely be unutterably disgraceful to us to permit them to sweep over all that we are set to defend, through our negligence or supineness, now that we have aroused a host ready to do battle at our call. Let us at least not be found sleeping on our posts. Let us arouse the country to a sense of its danger and the necessity of resolute action; and let the issue which we shall present to the slaveholders and to the world be — ANNEXATION AND DISSOLUTION.

#### MEXICO.

The arrogant and insulting attitude and tone of the government of the United States towards that of Mexico remains unchanged. The insult offered to her territory by the piratical occupation of Monterey, on the coast of California, by Commodore Jones, remains unpunished. The intimation on the part of Mexico that she should regard the annexation of her rebellious province to the United States as a declaration of war, afforded the President an opportunity of endeavoring to excite the prejudices and the passions of the American people against her in his message. Her internal policy and commercial arrangements are turned to the same account. No pains have been spared on the part of the Slave Interest and its abettors to create and foster a hostile feeling towards Mexico. The immediate cause of these demonstrations is doubtless to secure the annexation of Texas to the slave States; and the remote cause the hope that the palaces, churches, and mines of New Spain may yet afford golden spoils to

a republican banditti. The language of the actions of the United States towards Mexico must be ever watched with jealous eyes by the abolitionists, for there is more in them than meets the eye or ear, and of the dearest interest to their cause.

#### ENGLAND.

The government and people of England still continue to direct their attention and their energies to the extinction of negro slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. Serious as are the charges that are brought against her public character and conduct, both with regard to her own subjects and to foreign powers, justice will not permit us to withhold the meed of praise due to her consistent hostility to these two forms of oppression. The Directors of the East India Company, moreover, have responded to the demands of the lovers of freedom, and emancipated nearly ten millions of East Indian slaves. GEORGE THOMPSON, to whom the anti-slavery movement in America owes so heavy a debt of gratitude for services rendered and sufferings endured, is now engaged in a mission to India, for the purpose of obtaining such facts and experience as will enable him to demand, with irresistible power, of the people of England, the redress of the wrongs of India. At the last accounts, 'the English felon,' who escaped from our shores to save his life from our free and enlightened hands, was at the Court of Delhi, loaded with honors by the descendant of Timour, and appointed his Envoy to the British Court. We doubt not that a chief motive with Mr. THOMPSON to devote himself to the service of India is, his sagacious perception of the effect which the developement of the resources of that mighty empire must have upon the fate of American slavery. To him and to the British India Society do we look for more than incidental help. The day may not be far distant when the great battle for freedom will be decided, with

their assistance, in the cotton-market of Liverpool, and when the peaceful emancipation of the American slave will be achieved on the plains of Hindostan.

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ces of the warm sympathy, and fresh instances of the unwearied liberality, of the generous men and women of Ireland. The sagacious and single-hearted devotion of these friends of the cause has given them an insight into its bearings and relations, which has not always been purchased by personal experience of its workings. When the Broad-street Committee sent forth their invitation to another London Conference, the Committee of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society returned a spirited and able reply, declining to accept it, because the call, while professing to be for a World's Convention, was limited by its terms to one half of the human family, and was thus a virtual censure upon the true abolitionists of America. For this timely and significant testimony we owe them high honor and respect. The anti-slavery women of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Tralee, and Wexford, and a multitude of other places, sent up their annual tribute to the Massachusetts Fair, which was the source of great profit, as well as comfort and encouragement. These testimonies of intelligent good will and sympathy towards those engaged in the harrassing warfare for odious truth, on the part of distant friends, are of a moral importance far transcending any pecuniary result. While we would assure our friends in Ireland, and all other places, who have come up to our help in this behalf, of our grateful sense of the service which they have thus done to freedom and humanity, we would at the same time commend to them an untiring continuance in the same disinterested labors, as the purest and highest of earthly satisfactions.

The movement for the Repeal of the Union with Great Britain, which has been agitating Ireland for many months, has afforded opportunities for the utterance of emphatic testimonies against American slavery, which have found a vast, though unwilling audience on this side of the Atlantic. The interest which is felt in this movement by the large Irish population in

enacted in Massachusetts, for the protection of its soil from the contamination of the slave-hunter. The hardy mountaineers have thus shown a fresh determination that under the shadow of their green hills, at least, the hunted fugitive shall find a shelter, and have embraced this new opportunity of uplifting their testimony against slavery and in behalf of liberty.

#### MAINE.

A bill of a similar description was introduced into the Legislature of Maine, and passed the House by a large majority, but was rejected in the Senate. This circumstance affords good reason to hope that this daughter of Massachusetts will ere long free herself also from all participation in the guilt of upholding slavery, and forbid her judges and officers from being made the tools of the oppressor.

#### TEXAS.

The signs of the times have seemed during the past year to indicate a renewed and more hopeful determination on the part of the Slave Power to accomplish its darling project of the annexation of Texas to the United States. The voice of the collective wisdom of several of the slave States has been heard demanding this new bulwark of their institutions. Influential members of Congress, such as Mr. GILMER and Mr. WISE of Virginia, have publicly expressed their hope and determination that this unhallowed union should be completed. Servile presses in some of the free States have taken up the burden of their masters' song, and endeavored to lull the people into a false and fatal security. The organs of the small faction which the acting President of the United States has gathered around him, have been especially busy in preparing the way for this nefarious deed. It has been supposed that Mr. TYLER is desirous of sig-

nalizing his accidental administration by this event; and it was confidently expected that his late message would contain a distinct recommendation of the measure. If such were ever his intention, he changed his plan, for some sufficient reason, and only shadowed forth the possible event, in guarded, though pregnant phrase. With the usual consistency of the defenders of the interests of slavery, the President threatens England, by strong implication, with war, if she should interfere to procure the abolition of slavery in Texas, while at the same time he professes that humanity and justice demand that the United States interfere to put an end to the warlike posture which Mexico still maintains towards her revolted province. And he concludes this portion of his Message with this meaning sentence: 'The high obligations of public duty may enforce from the constituted authorities of the United States a policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the Executive, in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the government in its course of action.'

Perhaps this guarded and artful, but not less significant intimation of the deep design against the liberties at once of the slaves and of the free States, was caused by the loud tone of remonstrance which has been raised against it by presses and members of all parties. Not long after the adjournment of Congress, an address was put forth to the people of the free States, warning them of this conspiracy, recounting the proofs of its existence, pointing out its fatal tendency, and inviting the people of all parties to unite to prevent its success, to preserve the Constitution from gross violation, and to prevent the speedy and violent dissolution of the Union. This address was signed by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and twelve other members of Congress. It was extensively read, and produced a wide and deep impression upon

the public mind. Endeavors were made to throw suspicion upon this movement, from the fact that most, if not all, of these gentlemen were Whigs, and to create a belief that it was a mere political manœuvre. Even if this were the case, of which there is no satisfactory proof, their motive could not impair the accuracy of their statements and the force of their arguments. The country is indebted to them for their warning voice, and if it is but heeded, it will be of but small consequence what motive induced them to utter it in the ears of the people.

The slaveholders of the South have never ceased to gloat with ravenous eyes upon the fertile plains of Texas, since their great natural wealth was disclosed, and since the exhaustion of their own luxuriant soil has called for a new world for the desolating conquests of slavery. But the more immediate cause of the sudden urgency with which the annexation of Texas is demanded, was probably the knowledge of a project, — how extensively entertained, or how nearly matured, we have no means of knowing, — of abolishing slavery with the assistance and co-operation of England. That such a result would take place, were the ancient inhabitants and the land-owners of Texas free from the duress of the profligate banditti that have made that delicious country their haunt and spoil, is highly probable from the obvious inducements which an enlightened self-interest would hold out to such a course. But it is scarcely to be expected that a measure which would be the death-blow of American slavery would be permitted to take place without desperate resistance on the part of the Slave Interest in Texas and that of their fellow conspirators in the States. It was doubtless to provide against this possible danger, that the late clamorous demands have been made for the incorporation of its territory with our own.

There can be but little doubt, that during the present session of Congress an attempt will be made to accomplish the purpose

of this conspiracy against justice, humanity and freedom. How or when it will be made, we cannot predict; but we may be sure that it will be at the moment when the watchful spirit of the North is least upon its guard. The subtle spirit of slavery has, in every instance, previously to the anti-slavery enterprize, been able to accomplish any end it proposed to itself, by force or fraud. The circumstance that it has been for once defeated, or at least delayed, in the accomplishment of one of its darling projects, will not be likely to deprive it of its determined purpose, or of its wily arts. It is not too much to say that the success or the failure of this project, involving as it does the dearest interests of the free as well as the bond, depends upon the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of the abolitionists. It was owing solely to their exertions that Texas was not added to the slave States seven years ago. At that time, though all classes of men professed in private to be implacable opponents of the annexation, and even would round you in the ear with their threats to dissolve the Union and march upon the South should it take place, yet there could scarce a man be found, out of the ranks of committed abolitionists, who had the courage to sign a petition against it. And when, in the year 1837, Faneuil Hall was obtained for a public meeting to express the public sentiment of Boston on the subject, no prominent member of either of the political parties, though invited, ventured to attend it, nor did a political newspaper, with one or two exceptions, dare to print the proceedings, even as an advertisement! But even in those dastardly and truckling days, the abolitionists were enabled, by incessant watchfulness and labor, to present such a front of opposition to the South, that it sullenly relinquished its purpose for awhile. If, in those dark and evil times, we could disappoint the Slave Power, for the first time in the history of the country, of what it regarded as a vital measure, we may surely take heart



and hope at the present day, when we have brought even politicians to see that men may speak a word displeasing to their masters and yet live, and when so great a change has been effected in the moral perceptions of the general mind. If we were able to man the breach against the hosts of slavery when our numbers were but enough to make up 'that hope misnamed forlorn,' it would surely be unutterably disgraceful to us to permit them to sweep over all that we are set to defend, through our negligence or supineness, now that we have aroused a host ready to do battle at our call. Let us at least not be found sleeping on our posts. Let us arouse the country to a sense of its danger and the necessity of resolute action; and let the issue which we shall present to the slaveholders and to the world be — ANNEXATION AND DISSOLUTION.

#### MEXICO.

The arrogant and insulting attitude and tone of the government of the United States towards that of Mexico remains unchanged. The insult offered to her territory by the piratical occupation of Monterey, on the coast of California, by Commodore Jones, remains unpunished. The intimation on the part of Mexico that she should regard the annexation of her rebellious province to the United States as a declaration of war, afforded the President an opportunity of endeavoring to excite the prejudices and the passions of the American people against her in his message. Her internal policy and commercial arrangements are turned to the same account. No pains have been spared on the part of the Slave Interest and its abettors to create and foster a hostile feeling towards Mexico. The immediate cause of these demonstrations is doubtless to secure the annexation of Texas to the slave States; and the remote cause the hope that the palaces, churches, and mines of New Spain may yet afford golden spoils to

a republican banditti. The language of the actions of the United States towards Mexico must be ever watched with jealous eyes by the abolitionists, for there is more in them than meets the eye or ear, and of the dearest interest to their cause.

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The government and people of England still continue to direct their attention and their energies to the extinction of negro slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. Serious as are the charges that are brought against her public character and conduct, both with regard to her own subjects and to foreign powers, justice will not permit us to withhold the meed of praise due to her consistent hostility to these two forms of oppression. The Directors of the East India Company, moreover, have responded to the demands of the lovers of freedom, and emancipated nearly ten millions of East Indian slaves. GEORGE THOMPSON, to whom the anti-slavery movement in America owes so heavy a debt of gratitude for services rendered and sufferings endured, is now engaged in a mission to India, for the purpose of obtaining such facts and experience as will enable him to demand, with irresistible power, of the people of England, the redress of the wrongs of India. At the last accounts, 'the English felon,' who escaped from our shores to save his life from our free and enlightened hands, was at the Court of Delhi, loaded with honors by the descendant of Timour, and appointed his Envoy to the British Court. We doubt not that a chief motive with Mr. THOMPSON to devote himself to the service of India is, his sagacious perception of the effect which the developement of the resources of that mighty empire must have upon the fate of American slavery. To him and to the British India Society do we look for more than incidental help. The day may not be far distant when the great battle for freedom will be decided, with

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this country, and which extends far beyond their ranks, has made the words of the great Irish Liberator to reach from the Corn Exchange or the hill of Tara to the utmost extremities of the Anglo-American continent. At various times, and with various degrees of severity, Mr. O'Connell has commented on the iniquity of the slave-system, and rebuked the time-serving and truckling behavior of recreant Irishmen in America. On two occasions, especially, did he utter burning words, that made many ears to tingle. Early in the year, an address which had been forwarded from the Executive Committee of the Eastern Pennsylvania A. S. Society, to the Loyal National Repeal Association, was read at the Corn Exchange. It was elicited by the misstatements contained in sundry letters which had been sent to that body, by Repealers in this country, respecting slavery and anti-slavery in America. It was prepared with great ability, and was of a character to excite deep attention. It was read at a special meeting of the Association, held for the purpose, and Mr. O'Connell moved that it be entered on the records, and that the thanks of the Association be sent to its authors. He accompanied these motions with a speech, in which he did justice to the abolitionists, and at the same time dealt out a measure of scorching rebuke to slavery and its supporters, especially among the Irish Repealers, such as had been seldom meted to them before. It produced a strong and wholesome impression upon the mind of the country. At a later period, Mr. O'Connell furnished a reply to a letter to the Association from Cincinnati containing a labored apology for slavery. This letter Mr. O'Connell regarded as an offence to the Association, and he had prepared the Address which he submitted, in order 'to separate Ireland from slavery as wide asunder as the poles.' His address contains a calm but caustic exposure of the sophistries and falsehoods of the Cincinnati letter, places in a strong

light the abject and base attitude of pro-slavery Irishmen, and concludes with eloquent appeals to them to be true to humanity and freedom, and 'to join in crushing slavery, and in giving liberty to every man, of every caste, creed and color.' It is a production which, for thorough understanding and lucid exposition of his subject, for earnestness of expostulation and keenness of sarcasm, and for force of indignant and persuasive eloquence, has, perhaps, never been exceeded by any of the productions of that eminent man. It was widely disseminated through the slave States, as well as the free States, and excited a strong but healthy agitation, wherever it was read. It placed, too, Mr. O'Connell in the position he should occupy, by the side of the American abolitionists, and dispelled the hopes of the enemies of the slave, that he was disposed, through some mistaken policy or malign influence, to disclaim and denounce them.

Soon after the arrival of the Reply to the Cincinnati letter in this country, a public meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Nov. 18th, for the purpose of laying it before the inhabitants, but especially before the Irish Repealers of Boston. It was very numerously attended, and chiefly by the class for which it was mainly designed. Mr. Garrison was called to the chair, and read the Reply, with some eloquent introductory remarks. A series of stirring and apposite resolutions were introduced, and sustained with much power by Messrs. Amasa Walker, Wendell Phillips, and other gentlemen. The meeting went off with great spirit and enthusiasm, in spite of the attempts of one or two of those Irish Repealers, for whose benefit the Address was especially intended, to impair its impression upon the mind of the audience. Two thousand copies of the Address were distributed, and the meeting adjourned at a late hour.

## HAITI.

This interesting republic has afforded another proof, in addition to the perpetual testimony which it has borne for many years past, of the capacity of the colored race for self-government. This year has been marked by a bloodless revolution, terminating in the deposition of President Boyer, and the substitution of a more popular form of government for his autocratic rule. The triumph of the liberal party was singularly free from insolence and cruelty, and afforded an example of moderation and humanity in the progress of a revolution, which patriots of greater pretensions would do well to imitate. We look for great assistance in our efforts for the deliverance of their race from bondage and prejudice, from the eloquent history of the Colored Republic.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held at New-York on the 9th of May. It was an occasion of singular unanimity and interest. It was the first meeting at which the abolitionists of the country found themselves once more face to face with slavery proper, since the apostacy of eighteen hundred and forty. Though the service in which we had been engaged, for the three previous years, of defending the cause against the treacherous assaults of those who had deserted it, after they had failed to make it their instrument of power or profit, and repairing the consequences of their breach of trust, was not less truly an anti-slavery work than any in which we could have been engaged, still it was animating to find ourselves again face to face with the open enemies, rather than with the pretended friends, of the slave. The attendance at the meeting was numerous beyond all precedent, with the single exception of the extraordinary field of the year forty. It was

noticeable, too, that the stale sneer of the adversary, that the ranks of the American Society were made up of forced levies from Boston and Lynn, was signally refuted,—as a sneer only can be refuted,—by facts. It so happened, that though the numbers present exceeded those assembled at any previous anniversary, (with the exception just made,) but a very small proportion was from the New-England States. The assembly was made up chiefly of members from Central and Western New-York, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and other remote parts of the country. Some friends had travelled six and some eight hundred miles, in their own wagons, holding meetings along the road as they came. The meeting being thus composed of such various materials, it was delightful to see the harmony and oneness of spirit that prevailed among them, and their entire unanimity as to the objects and the weapons of their warfare. It was an encouraging sign that the American Society might be made an instrumentality of greater efficiency than it had ever been.

As there were many topics of great delicacy and importance to be considered, touching nearly the welfare and the efficiency of the Society, a committee of twenty-five, from every quarter of the free States, was appointed to deliberate and report upon the course to be pursued for the ensuing year. All the suggestions from the committee of twenty-five were unanimously accepted by the Society. Among other measures proposed for the purpose of inspiring greater energy into the action of the Society, was the nomination of a number of friends in the neighborhood of Boston upon the Executive Committee, sufficient to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. This measure was proposed to remedy the difficulty arising from the numerical weakness of the abolitionists in the city of New-York, which rendered it impossible to fill up the Committee with persons whose characters and claims to confidence (how-



ever really great) were extensively known to the abolitionists of the country. It was thought, that if the responsibility were placed in the hands of persons whom circumstances had made somewhat prominent in the cause, and generally known to the American abolitionists, that the operations of the Society could be made more energetic and effective, than if they were directed by friends equally deserving of the confidence of their constituents, but with whom they were unavoidably less acquainted. The following were the individuals who were intended to constitute the Boston quorum: William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Maria W. Chapman, Ellis Gray Loring, Edmund Quincy, Anne W. Weston, Wendell Phillips, Charles L. Remond. These friends, though deeply sensible of the personal and official responsibility they were about to assume, were willing to yield to what they believed to be the general wish of the Society, relying upon those who had placed them in the most important and difficult post of the movement, to sustain them in their endeavors to advance it. Soon after they had entered upon their duties, however, they learned that a different opinion existed on the part of the friends who composed the New-York branch of the Committee, as to the intentions of the Society, and that it appeared to them that serious constitutional and practical difficulties stood in the way of the business of the Society being transacted in Boston. As soon as this was fully ascertained, the quorum in Boston at once yielded the point, and the business of the Society has since been conducted, as in times past, by the branch of the Committee residing in New-York. Though the Boston friends have remained nominal members of the Committee, it has been with the distinct and public understanding, that no part of its duties or responsibilities were to rest upon them.

## THE STANDARD.

At the time of the annual meeting, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child retired from the editorship of the Standard, and it was assumed by Mr. David Lee Child. The long experience of this gentleman in the cause, (he having been one of the earliest members of the primitive A. S. Society on the principle of immediate emancipation,) his literary ability, his intrepid spirit, his honesty of purpose and magnanimity of soul, indicated him as one eminently fitted to fill the responsible station of conductor of the National Organ. Since Mr. Child entered upon his duties, which was not till two months after his appointment, he has discharged them with a degree of talent, sincerity and impartiality that must command respect even from those who deem his course in some particulars reprehensible. Ever since his appearance as editor, and indeed previous to it, he has been made the mark for the shafts of the organs and leaders of the third political party, who had in fact reason to dread the appearance of a man in the field, whom they could neither blind, cajole, nor intimidate. These clamors have produced dissatisfaction to some extent among the members of the Society; and some of the best friends of the cause have been induced to regard the course of Mr. Child with doubt and uneasiness, if not with absolute reprobation. The cause of discontent is to be found in what is regarded as a strong leaning, or rather a decided adherence, to the Whig party. Mr. Child is in no wise responsible to us for his course, any more than to any other individual member of the Society; but justice requires us to say, that we have seen nothing in his individual conduct, or in his writings as editor of the Standard, that renders him obnoxious to the charge of making his anti-slavery character or functions subordinate or subservient to his political predilections. That Mr. Child is a Whig in principle, is a fact of which he has made no secret, but is one with which we have no

more to do than with his religious opinions, as long as he does not permit his practical developement of the one any more than of the other to absorb or to overbalance his anti-slavery principles. To say that he is, in any sense which should deprive him of anti-slavery confidence, a member of the Whig party, when he has not only refused to vote for the regular candidates of that party, but has actually voted for candidates of the Democratic party, on anti-slavery grounds, is unjust, not to say absurd. A man who conducts himself in this manner at the polls, we apprehend would be claimed by no party as a technical member, however he might agree with it on abstract points of public policy, aside from slavery.

It is unnecessary for us to say, that we dissent from many of the positions and opinions of Mr. Child, as maintained in the *Standard*; and especially from those respecting the obligations of the anti-slavery movement to Mr. Adams, and his relation towards it. On this point, as on some others, we clearly, totally and unanimously differ from him. The Executive Committee, doubtless, appointed him to the editorial chair because he was, upon the whole, the most suitable person they could find to fill it, having full confidence in his tried integrity of character and devotion to the cause. We cannot see that their just confidence has been abused. We will not affirm that the political preferences of Mr. Child, as to matters of public policy, may not have been inferable from some of his articles, in the same manner that the evangelical opinions of the editors of the *Emancipator*, in the days of its early fidelity, or of the spiritual theology of the last editor of the *Standard*, might be gathered from the tone or from the contents of some of their articles; but until we have other proof than has as yet been brought to our minds, we must deny that he has ever treacherously betrayed his anti slavery trust into the hands of any party. And this is all that we have

a right to demand of him. The political or religious opinions of an anti-slavery editor or agent are his own, and we may not quarrel with him about them, unless he make use of his anti-slavery position for their propagation. We may, in the exercise of our imagination, conceive of an ideal man, who shall regard the anti-slavery Idea only in the light of pure reason, and do its work without feeling the influence of his other opinions ; but until such a man can be found, we shall have to be content with men upon whose integrity of character and single-minded devotion, to the cause we can rely for the due subordination of their peculiar views to their official duties.

The expression of every man's opinions, on any given subject, must of necessity be tinged by the opinions on other subjects which color the mind through which they pass ; and for this he is not to blame. If, under pretence, and under promise, of disseminating a specific idea, he pervert the position and the advantages afforded to him for that distinctive end, to purposes of political partizanship or religious propagandism, he commits a crime, the meanness and treachery of which can hardly be exaggerated by language, and from which we have suffered too severely, in our anti-slavery experience, not to be deeply sensible of its mischiefs and its turpitude. Of this guilt we have had as yet no reason, nor do we believe that we ever shall have, to suspect the editor of the Standard.

#### NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Of all the occasions which abolitionists have established for their periodical assemblies, there is none that surpasses in interest and profit the annual New-England Convention. The abolitionists of New-England have ever regarded it with peculiar affection and enthusiasm. The last Convention, which was held in Boston on the 30th of May, and continued by adjournment

for three days, yielded to none of its predecessors in interest to its members and in advantage to the cause. The meetings, during the day, were held in the Tabernacle in Howard-street, one of the most capacious buildings in the city, and it was thronged throughout the sessions with intelligent and attentive auditors. The evening sessions were held at Faneuil Hall, which was filled to its utmost capacity, and by multitudes to whom anti-slavery truths were novel tidings. The meeting on Wednesday evening, May 31st, was a memorable occasion. The Convention had ordered an address to the slaves of the United States, on the subject of their rights, duties and hopes, and another to John Tyler, who was shortly expected in Boston, to assist at the Bunker's Hill Monument celebration, requesting him to emancipate his slaves, to be prepared. They were both submitted to the Convention in Faneuil Hall. They were drawn up by Mr. Garrison, and bore the impress of his nervous and masculine genius. The address to the slaves was submitted by him, and supported by Messrs. Wm. Henry Channing, of New-York, Remond and Douglass. The address to Mr. Tyler was read by Mr. Phillips, and enforced with a speech of great power. Both addresses were adopted by acclamation. The Hutchinson family greatly enhanced the satisfactions of the evening, and of the Convention generally, by their delightful songs. The interest in the Convention was unabated to the last moment, and perhaps the Tabernacle was at no time so crowded as at the moment of adjournment on Friday afternoon. The discussions of the Convention included the most important questions of anti-slavery action, moral, political and ecclesiastical, which were treated with temper and spirit, and evidently produced a beneficial impression, as well in the mixed audience in attendance, as upon the members themselves.

## THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS.

The New-England Convention of 1843 will be long remembered as the moving cause of the great movement of the year; best known by the appellation of the Hundred Conventions. It had been proposed by the Boston quorum of the Executive Committee of the American Society, to set on foot a series of Conventions in the Western States, and to put as strong a force into that comparatively new field as they could command. Their functions having ceased previously to the New-England Convention, they proposed the measure to that body, and it was warmly received and generously carried out. A considerable sum was raised and pledged, to be placed in the hands of Francis Jackson, and expended by him under the direction of the Massachusetts Board. The Board, immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, issued circulars, which were responded to with much liberality. They secured the services of MESSRS. BRADBURN, REMOND, MONROE, DOUGLASS and FERRIS. MESSRS. WILLIAM A. WHITE and SYDNEY H. GAY volunteered their services, and rendered valuable aid in the fatiguing and harassing expedition, by their cheerful devotion of themselves to its duties. The whole movement was under the general direction of our General Agent, Mr. COLLINS, whose suggestion it was, but who was prevented by severe illness from sharing in the labors and triumphs of the campaign he had planned. The agents were divided into two parties, and held parallel meetings in different places along the route of the Conventions, meeting occasionally, and interchanging services with one another. We have no space to attempt to describe this magnificent movement. It would require a volume to relate but a portion of its curious and instructive history. We wish that our limits would permit us to follow these devoted men from the frontiers of our own State through the central and western portions of New-York, to Ohio; thence to

Indiana ; then passing through Ohio again, to Pennsylvania, until they met to recapitulate their successes (though sometimes encountering them in the shape of apparent discomfiture) at the Decade meeting at Philadelphia. We would that we could recount their various adventures ; the malign influences of priest or politician, in some places employed to hinder the people from listening to their message ; the cordial help which they received in others, from men consistent with their own professions, in Church and State ; the varying numbers of their audiences from the faithful few, gathered from amid a perverse world, to the overwhelming and enthusiastic gathering at Oakland, whither the sterling anti-slavery of Ohio gathered together by thousands, and from hundreds of miles around. This was the meeting of the State Society, and was probably never surpassed in anti-slavery annals, for multitudinous and enthusiastic numbers. We should like to tell of mobs, led on by ex-members of Congress, and of eloquent eggs, discharged by the honorable hands of a conscript Father of Indiana. And there would be a tale, too, of perils, like those of the early days of the enterprise, which would tell of the imminent danger they were in at times of sealing their testimonies with their blood. And there would be a history, had we time to tell it, of generous hospitality and cordial friendship, extended to them by the warm-hearted abolitionists of the West, for the very love they bore the cause. Throughout almost the whole extent of their tour they found a home in the homes of the friends of the slave. They were conveyed through Ohio to Indiana, and from thence back to Pittsburgh, in private conveyances, furnished freely by their anti-slavery hosts. A carriage and a pair of horses were placed at the disposal of one division of the agents, during their abode in Ohio, by CYRUS M'NEELY. Mr. BROOKE attended the same party through Ohio, and afforded them important assistance.

Mr. GIDDINGS welcomed them to the hospitalities of his house, and spoke at their meetings, an instance of magnanimity and courtesy towards political opponents, highly honorable to that distinguished gentleman. At Richmond, Indiana, Mr. MENDENHALL presided over the Convention,—the honored channel through whom the abuse of Henry Clay flowed, just a year before, to the abolitionists. The other division of the agents were conveyed through Ohio and Indiana in ‘The Liberator,’ a vehicle built for the conveyance of a large party of Ohio friends to the annual meeting in May, and which thus continued to be consecrated to the service of the cause. But it is in vain to attempt to give any just conception of the details of this great plan. We doubt whether there has ever been, in the history of the cause, so great an amount of wholesome agitation produced at so small an expense, or accomplished in so short a time. The execution of the scheme seems to have been as successful as its conception was felicitous.

While the agents were working their way through the State of New-York, the chief obstacle they had to encounter was the virulent opposition of the leaders and organs of the Third Party in that State. Mr. ALVAN STEWART fulminated a bull against them, and warned the people not to attend their meetings. The Liberty Press and the Emancipator rang out the same warning peal, with various changes of misrepresentation of motives and purposes. These efforts had a partial effect as long as they were within the limits of the Empire State. But as they travelled westward, they passed, in a good degree, beyond the sphere of these malign influences. Though most of the voting abolitionists of the Western States acted politically with the Liberty party, yet they seemed to be free from the taint of New Organization, which affects the more Eastern branch of the party. They were not familiar with the factious and lying origin of the political



movement in New-England, and had, in some degree, ignorantly given its measures and nominations their countenance. It is thought that a large proportion of the members of the Liberty party in the Western States are ready and desirous to separate themselves from the company of the Eastern faction. We think that they can devise no other way of making their political anti-slavery testimony clear and perfect. They are too well acquainted with the tactics and discipline of political parties not to be aware that a party is one and indivisible, and that as long as they sustain the leading organs and chief nomination of a political party, by their money or their votes, let their explanations and reclamations be what they may, they are fairly to be accounted members of the party, and accountable for its misdeeds; and that the only way in which they can take themselves out of their unworthy companionship is to withhold their support from such influences and nominations, and thus publicly withdraw from and disclaim them.

We have said that we do not think that so great a result has ever before been obtained with the same expense of time and money. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of minds have been reached, and consciences stirred, as to their duty to the slave. The seed has been flung broadcast over a magnificent field, and it cannot be but that much will take root and spring up unto the harvest. It would be satisfactory to us if we could devote more labor to the cultivation of smaller fields. We should rejoice if it were in our power to place a faithful agent in every town, or cluster of neighboring towns, to follow up and complete the work with careful husbandry. But with abolitionists, the choice is not of what they would, but of what they can do. With the small pecuniary means that we are able to command, it appears to us that we cannot do better for the cause than to send out able men over as large a portion of the

free States as is practicable, to startle the stertorous nation with their warning voices. Nor should we be discouraged because the hostile influences that are abroad in a thousand shapes should succeed in reducing the numbers of our assemblies to an inconsiderable gathering. The deepest and most important impressions are often made upon the public mind where only two or three are gathered together. We should not forget how much of the present anti-slavery spirit of New-England owed its origin to the splendid orations of GEORGE THOMPSON, delivered in freezing churches or district school-houses; nor should we fail to remember that it is but thirteen years since the first stone was cast into the dead sea, that mantled far and wide, and that the spreading circle of its agitation has already nearly embraced its whole extent within its widening circumference.

They who have felt an interest in this movement, and contributed towards it, will be glad to hear, that the sum originally collected, together with the amount raised at the Conventions, will fully defray all the expenses attending them.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

In the early part of the year, about twenty Conventions were held in as many towns, chiefly in Middlesex, Worcester, Norfolk and Plymouth counties, under the superintendence of our General Agent. They were generally well attended, in spite of the opposition that was brought to bear upon them, and were of much advantage to the cause. Besides Mr. Collins, Messrs. Boyle, Douglass, Cyrus M. Burleigh, Remond, James N. Buffum, and others, attended these Conventions, and gave spirit and interest to their proceedings. A course of anti-slavery lectures were given during the winter, under the auspices of the Boston Female A. S Society, by Messrs. Pierpont, Phillips, Quincy, Garri-

son, Douglass, Bradburn and Remond, in Amory Hall; the success of which was highly encouraging.

The diversion of so large a proportion of our lecturing force to the Western field necessarily curtailed, to a considerable extent, our own operations, after the Hundred Conventions were begun. More recently, Mr. CHARLES C. BURLEIGH has done acceptable service in different portions of the State. In the summer, Mr. GARRISON, during a residence of some months at Northampton, for the benefit of his health, found opportunity to do valuable service in the Western counties; a field that has not as yet received its due proportion of culture at our hands. Mr. PHILLIPS, at the same season, did an excellent work in the neighborhood of Boston, and introduced the subject of abolition into places where it had scarcely been mentioned before. Both of these gentlemen have attended the meetings of the county and town Societies, as they have had opportunity, and added much to the interest and effect of those important occasions. Miss KELLEY has remained in the field of Central New-York, and has continued to give herself to the cause with the single-hearted and generous devotion which has ever marked her anti-slavery character. Mr. FOSTER has also spent a considerable portion of time in the same region, and applied himself to his mission with an intrepid enthusiasm and earnestness of purpose worthy of all admiration. On the whole, we do not think that there has ever been a year in which the operations of the abolitionists have been so extended or so successful as during that which has just expired.

#### THE GENERAL AGENT.

The consideration of our anti-slavery operations naturally reminds us of the loss we have recently sustained of the services of one who for a long time directed them, under our supervision. Towards the close of the last official year, our General Agent,

JOHN A. COLLINS, resigned his office, after a term of service of singular difficulty, trial and success, extending over a period of five years. It is not our wont to speak in terms of extravagant eulogy of the living or of the dead; but it is but justice to say, that we think that there are but few men, if any, to whom the cause is more deeply indebted, than to Mr. Collins. Coming into its active service at the time when the factious secession of 1839 had thrown the anti-slavery ranks into an apparent confusion, his clear-sighted and decided measures were mainly influential in rallying the scattered forces, and bringing them again into line against the enemy and his new auxiliaries. It was to his labors, and to the measures he instituted, during his first official year, for the enlightening the public mind upon the true grounds of that treacherous movement, that we owe, in a great degree, the signal defeat which the subtle spirit of New Organization encountered at its head quarters in New-York, at the annual meeting of 1840. After the American Society had been stripped of its organ and of all its property, by its dishonest stewards, it was largely owing to his exertions, in this country and in the British islands, that the Standard was established, and the Society sustained. Most of the plans for agitating and enlightening the public mind on the subject of slavery, which the American and Massachusetts A. S. Societies have adopted, were conceived and carried into effect by him. The fertility of his invention for devising such schemes was only to be equalled by his energy in their execution. His skill as a financial agent was extraordinary. Perhaps no one man, since the inception of the enterprise, has raised so large an amount of funds for anti-slavery purposes. His visit to Great Britain and Ireland, in 1840--41, was productive of the happiest results, besides the large pecuniary return, in disabusing the minds of the abolitionists of those kingdoms of the false and malignant accusations brought against the true friends of the slave in this coun-

try, by those who had deserted and robbed them, and in establishing or confirming friendly and familiar intercourse between them. It is mainly owing to his exertions that a large annual sum is poured into our treasury from those Islands, through the channel of the Massachusetts Fair. His expedition to Ohio and the Western country, in 1842, was of signal and permanent advantage to the cause. It prepared the way for the Hundred Conventions, and to this preparation did they owe many of their facilities and much of their success. Of that scheme he furnished the first suggestion, and marked out the plan; and though his ill-health did not permit him to partake of the labors, yet all must feel how great is his share in the triumph of that prosperous expedition.

During his long period of service, Mr. Collins has not been without that testimony of reproach and calumny to his faithfulness and efficiency, which is ever afforded to those qualities, in a hated reform, by its wily enemies. The adversaries of the anti-slavery enterprise, in all their various disguises, have ever shown themselves wise in their generation in their mode of conducting their warfare with it. It has always been their policy to sow dissension, if possible, among its friends, and to destroy their confidence in its most devoted servants. Assuming the garb of friendship, they have thus endeavored to deal the deadliest of stabs to the cause through the hearts most devoted to it. This cup which had been commended to the lips of the earliest and most devoted friends of the slave, could not pass away from one, whose uncompromising fidelity and intense energy of character made him so formidable an adversary. The same slanderous falsehoods with regard to his personal character, the same malignant misrepresentations of his religious opinions, the same endeavors to divert attention from his anti-slavery fidelity to his private views on other matters, which *they* have had to encoun-

ter, pursued *him* across the Atlantic, and have dogged his steps over his native land. These malicious assaults have had no power to impair our confidence in his anti-slavery integrity, and it was with regret that we dissolved our official connexion with him,—a connexion which, during its long continuance, was one of singular harmony and cordial co-operation, in most difficult and perplexing times. He will carry with him, to his new scene of labor, our most affectionate wishes for his happiness and his prosperity. It is but justice to state, that for the chief of his last year of service, his labors were gratuitous—he having refused to receive any pecuniary compensation.

At the meeting of the Board when Mr. COLLINS tendered his resignation, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

‘ Resolved, That the Board, in accepting the resignation of JOHN A. COLLINS, tender him their sincerest thanks, and take this occasion to bear the most cordial testimony to the zeal and disinterestedness with which, at a great crisis, he threw himself a willing offering on the altar of the anti-slavery cause, as well as to the energy and rare ability with which, for five years, he has discharged the duties of their General Agent; and in parting, offer him their best wishes for his future happiness and success.’

At the same meeting, Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS was elected General Agent, in the room of Mr. Collins: an appointment which we are sure will meet with the hearty approbation of the Society; and which we hope his love for the cause will induce him, if possible, to accept.

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

Among all the weapons of the anti-slavery conflict, there are none more powerful, or wielded by more dexterous and earnest hands, than the true anti-slavery presses. The weekly flights of arrows that are discharged into the pro-slavery world around, by those skilful hands, carry healing wounds upon their barbs. The abolitionists should see to it that the archers are not suffered to

faint or be cast down upon their posts, for the want of ready and cheerful support. The *Liberator* still displays those qualities of sagacity, faithfulness and ability, which have made it for the last thirteen years the object of such strong love and intense hate. The *Herald of Freedom* still directs its keen shafts, pointed with wit and feathered with poetic fancy, with deadly aim at Slavery and its Northern auxiliaries ; and still excites that enthusiasm of friends and malignity of enemies, which is ever the reward and the proof of fidelity. The editor of the *Standard* brings to his task a mind cultivated by a careful education, enriched with good learning, enlarged by travel, and sharpened by various experience. Widely as these faithful men differ from one another in their temperaments and in the character of their minds, yet they each commend themselves to a large class, and fill up a space, their absence from which would be sensibly felt. Great as the diversities of talent, of culture, or of task may be which distinguish them, they are diversities which only promote their usefulness, as long as they are inspired by one spirit of love and faithfulness to their common cause. We earnestly commend all these instrumentalities to the increasing confidence and support of the abolitionists.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

The treasury of the Society is again indebted for most important help to the Women of Massachusetts, upon whose intelligent and ready assistance we have always been able to count with certainty. The Massachusetts A. S. Fair was held during Christmas week, and the week preceding, with greater success than had ever before attended it. Amory Hall was beautifully decorated with evergreens, banners, mottoes and pictures, and was thronged with admiring purchasers, although the weather was very unpropitious. The receipts exceeded \$2800, being an

advance upon any preceding Fair. The Christmas Tree at the Melodeon was a beautiful and attractive spectacle, and did much credit to the taste, skill and industry of those who erected and adorned it.

A Fair was held at Hingham, beginning on the 30th of August, which was deservedly successful. The Hall over the Academy was adorned with much taste and elegance, and filled with an infinity of curious and useful things. The attendance upon it was large, the impression produced upon the town excellent, and the pecuniary result beyond the warmest expectations of the friends engaged in it. Fairs have also been held, with excellent success, at Weymouth, Nantucket, Upton, and, we believe, other places. The aggregate proceeds of all these efforts must considerably exceed **THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS**.

The women of Massachusetts do not need these brilliant results to animate them in their zealous efforts for the hastening of the slave's deliverance; but they cannot help feeling the encouragement of such success. They know that the money taken is but a very inadequate measure of the value of their exertions to themselves, to their own communities, and to the great Public of the Metropolis. We are sure that they will not withhold this testimony of their sense of what is due to those that have no helper, until the deliverance of the slave shall bring their disinterested labors to a glorious termination.

#### FIRST OF AUGUST.

This illustrious anniversary was celebrated in various places, with all the joy and festivity which belong to it. It is so seldom that the American abolitionists have occasion to rejoice, except in the humble endeavor to do their own duty, that it is peculiarly fitting that they should hail with festival rites the anniversary of an event so full of happy results and glorious promises as the



emancipation of the West Indian slaves. A spirited celebration was held at DEDHAM. The friends assembled at the Town Hall, and thence marched in procession, with music and banners, through the streets, to a beautiful grove about a mile from the village. Addresses were made by MESSRS. PIERPONT, ALLEN, STETSON, ROGERS, HILTON, THOMPSON, SAUNDERSON, WATERTON, and several others, both in the morning and in the afternoon. An elegant collation was furnished by general contribution. Music and song diversified the services of the day. Great numbers attended the meeting at different times, and it is believed great good was done, as well as much pleasure enjoyed. The day was celebrated by a procession, public services and a dinner, by the colored inhabitants of Boston, and also by those of New-Bedford. Meetings were also held at Lowell, Weymouth, and, we believe, many other places, and in all with the most complete and gratifying success.

#### THE LONDON CONVENTION.

A Convention was again held in the month of June, 1843, in London, called by the Committee of the British and Foreign A. S. Society. Its friends in this country generally describe it as the World's Convention, but as one half of the world was excluded by the very terms of the call, that comprehensive title cannot with justice be accorded to it. As the wording of the call was regarded as an insult to the American A. S. Society, no delegates were sent by that Society or any of its auxiliaries. The Committee of the Hibernian A. S. Society, also, as we have already stated, refused to be represented at it, and the friends of the American Society generally, in the British Islands, declined becoming members of it. A considerable amount of statistical information appears to have been submitted to the Convention; but it seems to have been an occasion of little life or enthusiasm.

The narrow and exclusive spirit which dictated the call, in compliance with the sectarian suggestions of American New Organization, was incompatible with the generous glow and deep enthusiasm which must characterise (should it ever be held) the genuine WORLD'S ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

#### ISAAC KNAPP.

We feel that we ought not to pass over in silence the death of one whose name is associated with the earliest days of the anti-slavery cause, and who was for many years a member of this Board, although his latter days were days of estrangement and calamity. During the past year, died ISAAC KNAPP, the first printer of the *Liberator*, and one of the original members of the first American Anti-Slavery Society, on the principle of immediate emancipation. His devotion to the cause, in its day of small things, was entire and admirable. When the page of history shall be written describing the inception of the *Enterprise* which is destined to deliver the slave from his chains, and the land from her disgrace, there is but one name that should be inscribed upon it before that of Isaac Knapp. In all the privations, hardships and dangers of those early and evil days, he cheerfully shared. In the management of the cause, he looked only to ultimate, and not to immediate results, and assented to the wise policy that discards a low and selfish expediency. As joint proprietor of the *Liberator*, Mr. Garrison bears witness to his readiness, in times of strong temptation, to sacrifice patronage rather than principle. Though, after the cloud that darkened his latter days had begun to overshadow him, he suffered himself to be made the tool of designing persons for their own purposes, we believe that it was to be attributed rather to the ruin which intemperance had worked upon his mind, than to any change in his anti-slavery heart. Though we may not hide, and cannot forget, the faults

and errors of his later life, yet we shall ever choose rather to dwell upon the memory of the unfaltering fidelity and generous devotion of his earlier years.

#### DECADE MEETING.

In conformity with a recommendation of the American A. S. Society, at its last anniversary, a special meeting was held in Philadelphia, on the 4th of December, 1843, to celebrate the completion of the first decade of its existence. It was fitting that the abolitionists of the country should assemble themselves together at the scene of its occurrence, to commemorate an event so important in the history of the enterprise, and of the country ; to recall the labors, sufferings and successes of the last ten years ; to dwell upon the memory of those who have passed from the conflict to the crown ; and to derive from the history of the past, new and well-founded encouragement for the future. Although the season of the year was unfavorable for travelling, the attendance upon the meetings, which continued several days, was uniformly full. The animation and variety of the debates kept the interest of the meeting alive to the last, and those who went up to it returned with their spirits cheered and their hands strengthened. There was a slight disposition, at one time, to disturb the meeting ; but that it was but slight, or that a great change has come over the public mind of Philadelphia, within a few months, is proved by the fact that the city authorities suppressed the mob, instead of anticipating its wishes and doing its work themselves. In the absence of the President of the Society, (Mr. GARRISON,) the chair was taken by Mr. ROBERT PURVIS, the Vice-President from Pennsylvania, by whom its duties were discharged with signal dignity and courtesy. The hospitality of the Philadelphia abolitionists was extended to the stranger friends in the most cordial and gratifying manner. It

will long furnish a theme of grateful recollection to those who shared in its satisfactions, and of regret to those who were unavoidably deprived of them. If the moral revolution in which we are engaged goes forward in the same ratio of progress for the next, as for the past, ten years, we may almost hope at the next decennial meeting to rejoice together over the accomplishment of its beneficent purpose.

#### DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION WITH SLAVERY.

There has been a growing opinion, for some time past, on the part of some of the purest and most intelligent minds in the cause, that a due regard to the dictates of morality forbids them to hold any office, a necessary preliminary to the acceptance of which, is an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, as long as the slavery clauses are retained in it. They think that it would be not the more immoral in them to restore a fugitive slave to his master, or to take up arms to support a servile revolution, than it would be to swear to support a Constitution which requires them to do these very things. Nor do they think that they can extricate themselves from the dilemma by a mental reservation, or even by a public proclamation of their intention to disregard in these points the Constitution which they have sworn to support in all points. That the circumstance of having sworn to perform the wicked acts would be no excuse for committing them, they freely admit ; but they are of the opinion that it would be a breach of the simplest morality to take an oath to perform them. Nor does it appear to them that any statement, however public, of their intentions to disregard their oath, in these particulars, could free them from the just imputation of a breach of faith towards the slaveholders, which no advantages to themselves or to the slaves could justify. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, sufficiently plain in its

requisitions on these points, and more fully explained and enforced by its authorized expositors, and it seems to them that the men, whose interests those clauses were designed to protect, have a right to demand of those who have sworn to support the whole Constitution, that they support all its parts. This would be evident, they think, to many who will not admit the force of these arguments, should a man accept office, and swear to support the Constitution, with a reservation of those parts providing for the military defence of the country, and then refuse to employ the powers entrusted to him for that purpose, to repel a foreign invasion. The only remedies, as it seems to those who hold these opinions, in the one case as in the other, is to refuse to accept the office, until the clauses to which they object have been expunged from the Constitution. The same arguments which dissuade them from holding any office requiring such oath as a preliminary, apply with equal force to prevent them from appointing, by their vote, another to hold it for their benefit.

These men, who for intelligence and conscientiousness are not surpassed by any in the anti-slavery ranks, have thus renounced their political power, that they may put away from them whatever seems to bear the taint of slavery. They think that the true and effectual political action is, to stand aside from the machinery of government as long as it retains the incongruous element of slavery, and to demand that it be freed forever from that fatal presence. Their watchword is, the Dissolution of all Union between Liberty and Slavery. If that separation cannot be effected without the Dissolution of the Union between the Free States and the Slave States, they are ready to meet that issue and its consequences. Nor do they feel as if they had divested themselves of political influence, by thus renouncing political power. In the emancipation of the Catholics in England, they discern how great is the influence of men who have renoun-

ed political power for conscience sake, over those who exercise it ; and they anticipate a no less triumphant issue to this line of policy, should it be adopted and carried out. Whatever may be thought of the soundness or unsoundness of these views, there can be but one opinion as to the generosity of the sentiments and the magnanimity of the conduct of the men who have thus disfranchised themselves for the sake of the slave.

#### POLITICAL ACTION.

With regard to the policy and the duties of those abolitionists who are free to use the elective franchise, we still entertain the same views that we have fully set forth in former reports and addresses. We hold it to be the duty of abolitionists, at the polls, as well as elsewhere, to act honestly for the benefit of the slave ; to refuse to vote for any man, for any office, upon whom they have not good reason to rely that he will use all the powers annexed to that office, for the abolition of slavery, and of whatever is necessarily connected with or dependant upon it. No man who does less than this is worthy of the name of an abolitionist. If a man professes to look upon slavery as the giant crime and calamity of this country and this age, we have a right to demand of him a consistent testimony against it, at the ballot-box as well as in the church or the market-place. This duty we think he has discharged when he casts his vote for none but a consistent abolitionist for offices that have any direct or indirect connection with slavery. With his opinions on subjects aside from slavery, we have nothing to do. If he choose to cast his vote for an abolitionist of his own way of political thinking, we have no quarrel with him. We cannot require of him to abandon his opinions on Tariff or Free Trade, on National Bank, or Independent Treasury, if he be but faithful to his anti-slavery idea. Were the Whig party to separate itself entirely from slavery, and refuse to sup-

port candidates, or to sustain organs, except such as abolitionists could not justly reject, still we could not affirm it to be the unqualified duty of a democratic abolitionist to unite himself with that party. And so of a whig abolitionist, should the Democratic party perform the same lustration. Or were there to be a Third party erected, of which the leading idea was abolition, free from the objection of candidates or leading influences adverse to the anti-slavery movement, we could not lay it down as the imperative duty of an abolitionist to act with that party, if he dissented from the other articles of its political creed. Every man is to judge for himself as to the relative importance of his political opinions on other points, and is not obnoxious to just censure for adhering to them, if he preserve his anti-slavery integrity unimpaired. The preservation of that integrity, and the maintenance of a faithful testimony, at the polls, as well as in every other place, we shall never cease to urge upon all abolitionists, as essential to their consistency, their honor, and their efficiency.

#### POLITICAL PARTIES. THE WHIG PARTY.

We are sorry to say that the political parties have in no essential particular changed the position which they occupied, when we addressed you last, with regard to slavery and anti-slavery. HENRY CLAY is still the chosen candidate of the Whig party, upon whom they will unquestionably concentrate their energies, at the approaching election. That a man who has declared, from the high places of the nation, that 'that is property which the law declares to be property,' who, in conformity with this doctrine, extorts his ignominious livelihood from the unwilling hands of slaves, and who buys and sells the image of God in the man-market, should be the favorite of the Whigs South of Mason's and Dixon's line, is nothing extraordinary. But to see men who tread a soil which slavery does not curse, whose habits of

thought are free from the immediate influences of that fatal system, and who boast of the inheritance of a nicer sense of human rights, and of a more masculine morality, accepting with acclamation this disgraceful nomination, would seem as strange as it is melancholy, were we not already familiar with the paralyzing effects of slavery upon the minds and hearts of all who consent to endure its existence. But so it is ; and the approaching Presidential election will, beyond a doubt, present before the world the incongruous spectacle of the dominant party of Puritan Massachusetts, with the deacon of a Baptist church at its head, and with its long array of ministers and church members in its train, marching triumphantly beneath the bloody banner of a man-thief and a duellist !

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The candidate for the Presidency of the Democratic party has not yet been designated with the unanimity that has made Mr. CLAY the choice of the Whigs. The choice seems to lie, however, between Mr. VAN BUREN and Mr. CALHOUN. It matters not much, to the abolitionist or the slave, whether the Southern principles be represented by the Southern or by the Northern man. In either case, the successful aspirant must put his foot upon the neck of the slave, as he vaults into the chair of state. Perhaps the undisguised hostility of the South Carolinian would make him a less dangerous antagonist than the more crafty enmity of his competitor. But this is a matter of unprofitable speculation. It would be an insult to any abolitionist to suppose him capable of voting for either of these men, so deeply committed to slavery, or to seem to think it necessary to remind him, that every ballot that is cast for the one or the other, is an acceptable offering to the Moloch of the land.



## THE THIRD PARTY.

Our opinion as to the inexpediency of a distinct anti-slavery political organization, which we have often expressed, remains unchanged. We still think that such an organization, under the most favorable circumstances, would be unwise, and of evil effect. We believe that our true policy is, to make use of the existing political parties to do our anti-slavery work for us rather than to build up one for ourselves, the success of which must depend upon the extinction of one of the other two. We think we see the soundness of this philosophy illustrated in the legislative history of this State, which shows that we have obtained every thing for which we have asked (with the exception of the railway bill) by the votes of members of both parties, without the expense of time and money involved in the inception and conducting of a third. We know that it may be claimed by a short-sighted politician for the Third party, that a portion of these successes should be attributed to its efforts; but while we would not deny that the existence of that party may have had an apparent effect in producing these results; still, knowing as we do the origin, character and malign influences of that movement towards our enterprise, we cannot admit that its interference was of any genuine benefit; but we believe we should have gained more than we have achieved through the two other parties, had it not been for the interposition of the Third party, which possesses no just claims to a higher anti-slavery character than either of the other two. Whatever has been obtained of other States, and the small but difficult progress made in the national legislature, are the results of the same policy. We believe that it is all-sufficient for the accomplishment of every thing that legislation can do for us, and that still greater advances would have been made, had it been uniformly observed. We demand nothing that is inconsistent with

the avowed principles of either party, fairly carried out. We ask the sacrifice of no principle or policy that either deems important. We are content that the power should be wielded by the one or the other, according to the prevalence of other ideas. But we demand of them both to free the nation, to the utmost limits of their power, from the guilt and from the punishment of sustaining slavery. Experience has shown, that such appeals have been of sufficient power to accomplish our purposes sooner and more effectually than we had, a few years since, any reason to hope. We cannot but think that the disinterested attitude in which we stood before the people and the Legislature, produced a greater and speedier success, than if we had joined with the contending parties in a selfish scramble for the spoils of office.

While we have ever believed the true anti-slavery policy to be to act politically through the two existing parties, refusing political support to any candidate upon whom we could not depend to do our work, still we have never denounced an anti-slavery political party as necessarily a *malum in se*. This is a question of measures upon which honest difference of opinion may exist. When such a party presents itself, it is to be judged like both the elder parties, not by its professions, but by its works. The professions of either of the other parties are good enough for our purposes; our objection to them is, that their organs and candidates for office are proved by their works to be deadly enemies of the anti-slavery movement. The organs and candidates of any party are virtually THE PARTY. There are, doubtless, many individual members of a party infinitely better men than these incarnations of it; but we must ever judge them by the company in which they are found. There is many a Whig vastly more virtuous than Henry Clay, many a Democrat that is a much better man than Martin Van Buren, or than the editors of the *Globe* on the one hand or of the *Intelligencer* on the other; but still, as long

as they voluntarily continue in the rank and file of the party, they must expect to be characterised by the qualities of their leaders. So with regard to an anti-slavery party. It does not follow of necessity that it is more worthy of the confidence and support of abolitionists because of its name or of its professions. It is to be judged, like all other parties, by its fruits;—by its candidates, by its leading influences, by its malign or favorable aspect towards the anti-slavery movement.

Our objections to the existing political organization, calling itself the ‘Liberty party,’ have been freely expressed on former occasions, and need not now be recapitulated. We object to it, not because it is a ‘Liberty party,’ any more than we do to the other parties because they are ‘Whig’ or ‘Democratic,’ but because, as in the case of those parties, we have found it arrayed in its prominent influences against the anti-slavery movement. We have known its origin to be factious, its purpose the diversion of the awakening public attention from a corrupt church and clergy to the less guilty State, its measures malignant assaults upon the original enterprise, and slanderous attacks upon the private and public characters of the most faithful abolitionists. We have seen its leaders and members, with some honorable exceptions, while they profess that fidelity to the slave demands of his friends a total separation from the two pro-slavery political parties, still remaining in their pro-slavery sects, and giving their countenance and support to clergymen and ecclesiastical bodies steeped in the abominations of the slave system, and the profligate hypocrisy of whose support of it as much exceeds the guilt of statesmen and political parties, as they transcend them in their professions of virtue and piety. We have seen it identified with the most malevolent species of ‘New Organization,’ in the ‘Massachusetts Abolition Society,’ in whose possession its principal organ, ‘The Emancipator,’ of right

belonging to the American Anti-Slavery Society, is now to be found. We find in the editor of that organ, and in the candidate of the party for the highest office in the nation, men, who were members of the unfaithful Committee of the American Society of 1840, who consented to the '*transfer*' of the Emancipator and of the other property of the Society, and to the other malfeasances of that body,\* who joined the hostile organization, and assisted in its attempts to cripple and destroy the true anti-slavery movement. We know that there are good men and true friends of the slave in the ranks of that party, as there are in those of the other two, who are either not well informed of the character of the men who give its tone to the movement, or who have not duly considered it. We are assured that there are great numbers in the Western part of the country who look upon these men and these things with our eyes, and who are resolved to separate themselves from them at the first opportunity. We think that these friends must see that there is no other way in which they can divest themselves of the character imparted to the general movement by its leaders; any more than a Whig or a Democrat can free himself from the color given to those parties by HENRY CLAY or MARTIN VAN BUREN, by the Globe or the Intelligencer, except by refusing to give them any countenance or support. While we think all the candidates for the next Presidency equally unworthy of the suffrages of abolitionists, we would not fail to urge upon those who regard the ballot-box as one of their scenes of duty, not to be found wanting to themselves or to the cause. Let them remember that a single vote cast on the highest principle of duty, is of infinitely more value and significance than the election of the least of a choice of evils. We would suggest to voting abolitionists the expediency of making temporary local

\* For a full account of all these transactions, see the last Annual Report.

nominations, previously to elections, for the sake of convenience and concert, without incurring the expense or the incumbrance of a regular political organization. But whatever shape their action may take, we would exhort them to see to it, that it flows from an unselfish and enlightened view of anti-slavery duty.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL ACTION.

The same principles by which we judge of the anti-slavery character of political action and political parties, do we apply to religious action and religious sects, and in the same manner judge of their anti-slavery character by the fruits they bring forth. We have no quarrel with any of the ecclesiastical divisions of the country any more than with the political, on the ground of their doctrines, their origin, authority or disciplien. We have no time to settle these questions upon the anti-slavery platform. We assume to each that their doctrine and discipline are authentic, and only demand that they faithfully apply them to slavery as they do to the single sins of which it is the aggregate. We cannot turn aside from the work we have undertaken to settle, the rightfulness of spiritual, any more than of temporal, domination — of the powers and privileges of ecclesiastical, any more than of civil, government. We take for granted in the anti-slavery societies the correctness of the opinions of every man, on every subject unconnected with slavery, however dangerous or mischievous we may individually regard them; we only demand the faithful application of those opinions to slavery as to other crimes. To this test, — FIDELITY TO THEIR OWN PRINCIPLES, — we sternly and inexorably hold all religious bodies, churches and ministers. If they can stand the touch, we welcome them to our side as faithful fellow-laborers in our common cause. If they cannot, we unhesitatingly denounce them as base metal, undeserving the character they claim, on their own princi-

ples, and rebuke them before all the people for their inconsistency and hypocrisy.

The length to which this report has already extended must prohibit anything more than a very cursory glance at the most remarkable ecclesiastical action on the subject of slavery, during the past year. The General Assembly of the New School of the Presbyterian church was held in Philadelphia last May, and a considerable portion of three days was consumed in the discussion of the question of slavery. It was introduced by a resolution from the Committee on Bills and Overtures, declaring that though the Assembly could hold no relation to slavery implying approbation, still its removal did not fall within its constitutional powers. A substitute was moved by Rev. Mr. KELLOGG, of Western New-York, declaring 'slavery to be as in against God and an outrage upon the rights of man, and enjoining the Synods, Presbyteries and Sessions, to treat the subject as they do all other sins. This gave rise to a long debate, in which the Rev. Dr. WISNER, of Ithaca, N. Y., made a long and labored speech, denouncing the anti-slavery movement, and proving the unity of the Presbyterian church to be paramount to the claims of simple humanity, and the plain requisitions of Christianity. Dr. EDWARD BEECHER and some others spoke in favor of the substitute. At length, on the third day, Dr. DICKINSON moved as another substitute, 'that the Assembly do not think it *for the edification of the church* for this body to take any action on the subject.' After a long discussion, the matter was thus disposed of by a vote of 66 to 33! It is a fact worthy of notice, that Dr. Beecher, Mr. Kellogg, and several of the persons who spoke most strongly in favor of Mr. Kellogg's substitute, voted, at the last, in favor of doing nothing! 'The Assembly then engaged in a prayer of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the spirit of tenderness and forbearance exercised during the discussion of this

very important subject'!! The Assembly of the Old School disposed of the whole matter in a more summary manner, and did not permit its valuable time to be consumed by such unprofitable discussions. An anti-slavery memorial from Chillicothe was presented, and produced a scene only to be paralleled in the National Assembly, on the perpetration of a like enormity. It was disposed of, however, with true Congressional despatch, by being with all speed laid upon the table. Whether thanksgivings were returned to Almighty God, for his share in this transaction, also, we are not informed; but we cannot suppose the Assembly of the Old School to be less gratefully alive to the manifestations of the Divine mercies than their seceding brethren. In the General Association of Connecticut, held during the summer, Dr. Porter presented a resolution, reciting that certain anti-slavery conventions were about to be held, and encouraging the ministers of the Association to attend, as they had opportunity. This gave rise to a long debate, and the whole matter was finally referred to a committee, which reported, that though the Association repeated its avowal that slavery is a grievous wrong, and a main hindrance to the spread of the gospel, and thence that it is the duty of ministers and Christians to testify against it; still it was not prepared to sanction the conventions, but left the question to individual discretion. A long debate followed, but after an amendment making it read that slavery was a *great* instead of a *main* hindrance to the spread of the gospel, the resolution unanimously passed. At the General Association of Massachusetts, a remonstrance was presented from the Old Colony Association, remonstrating against any action, on the part of the General Association, on the subject of slavery. This remonstrance was signed by William Gould, Moderator, and Andrew Bigelow, Scribe, and was stated to have been passed by a unanimous vote. The General Convention, however, after a long debate, resolved

almost unanimously, 'that it could by no means reciprocate the sentiments of that remonstrance ; and that instead of silence and inaction on the subject of American slavery, we deem it our duty and privilege, as ministers and Christians, to speak freely, openly, with earnestness and Christian kindness, and to act in the same spirit for the relief of our oppressed and suffering countrymen and fellow-Christians.' Action of various kinds has been taken by other ecclesiastical bodies, of various denominations, which we have not time to recount. Anti-slavery resolutions have, within a few years past, been adopted by many associations, con-sociations, presbyteries and churches. While we welcome such expressions of opinion as favorable signs of a changing public sentiment, we should rigorously exact a corresponding action on the part of those who adopt them, both in the Church and in the world. We are sorry to say, that the walk and conversation of many of the churches that have adopted these resolutions, give conclusive evidence that their adoption was a measure of peace to the church, and not of help to the slave ; having for its motive the wish to quiet clamorous church members and a scoffing world, by a show of righteousness, while their hearts were far from it. They who have suffered anti-slavery action for these sinister ends, must elect whether they shall be ranked with those who, knowing their Lord's will yet do it not, or whether they shall be numbered with the hypocrites, who assume a virtue and profess a faith they have not, for the promotion of their selfish ends.

Early in the year a circumstance occurred, illustrative of the jealousy and suspicion with which the slave power regards whatever has the least appearance of disaffection towards it. The Unitarian Church in Savannah, Georgia, applied to the American Unitarian Association to send them a minister, and to assist them in his support. They accordingly sent the Rev. MELLISH I.



MOTTE, a native of South Carolina, a gentleman favorably known among abolitionists for his many excellent qualities, and especially for his humane disposition of his hereditary slaves ; though he has never, it is believed, accepted their principles, or in any wise identified himself with their measures. This gentleman, like Southern men generally, being comparatively free from that absurd prejudice against color which disgraces the free States, once preached a sermon in which he affirmed, that if Jesus Christ were to approach one of his Northern churches with the complexion which he wore on earth, he would not be permitted to enter it ; or matter to that effect. This had given rise to a report that he was an abolitionist, which had preceded him to Savannah. He was forthwith told that his services were not needed, and he was sent back again, without even his travelling expenses being provided for. The Executive Committee of the Association, justly resenting this treatment of their friend, wrote to the Savannah church, declining to have ‘any thing further to do with the supply of their pulpit.’ Had the matter rested here, it would have been honorable to the Northern parties. But the Savannah church, sending forth an appeal to the Unitarian world, in the bullying spirit of slaveholding insolence, arrogant in the highest degree towards the Unitarian community, and grossly insulting to the Executive Committee, it produced the intended effect of bringing its members to their bearings. They excused their selection of Mr. Motte, on the ground that they supposed his southern birth and acquaintance with the views, feelings and fears of their brethren in Savannah, as to slavery, would peculiarly fit him for that station ; and that they would readily have sent any other gentleman, had the church indicated their choice. They protested that Mr. Motte was in no other sense an abolitionist than they were themselves ; and seemed to think that nothing more could be said in proof of his fitness

for a slave-holding pulpit. This unworthy document concluded thus:—‘ We are far from putting our brethren under the ban. We acknowledge and respect their efforts to sustain their society, and wish them a faithful Christian minister; but as we cannot find one better than him whom they refuse to receive, we must abide by our vote by which we declined having any thing further to do with the success of their pulpit. *It is still in our power to make similar provision, if we judge it right, for any minister whom the church at Savannah may select.*’ ‘ And so they wrapped it up.’

At the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association in May, this subject, and the topics suggested by it, occupied a good deal of time and debate. An attempt was made to instruct the Executive Committee to send no minister to Southern churches who would not bear a faithful testimony against slavery. But it was disposed of by postponement.

#### THE PLATFORM.

The crowning glory of the anti-slavery enterprise is the catholic character of its platform. It rejects no one from its ample expanse on account of country, condition, creed, profession, or color. All who are ready to enlist in the warfare against slavery are welcome upon it. Men and women, Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Dissenters, orthodox and heterodox, clergymen and ‘*Come-outers*,’ church-members and Quakers, non-resistants and fighting-men, can all stand side by side upon it, and join in the common conflict, without any sacrifice of their method, or compromise of their principles. We do not insist upon all the champions of the slave being armed at all points alike, or directing their energies with the mechanical exactness of military discipline. Our hosts do not resemble so much the liveried uniformity of modern armies, as the picturesque variety of an old

crusade. We quarrel with no man's armor or weapons, provided he use them with a true heart and a stout arm for the deliverance of the captive. If he do use them thus with good faith and a resolute purpose, it is not our concern to turn aside to inquire into his right to possess or to wield them.

It is all-important that we preserve our platform sacred, and permit it to be employed for the destruction of nothing but slavery. There are many evil institutions and wicked practices in the world besides this coarse iniquity of negro slavery. But there is room enough in the world to attack and destroy them, without encroaching on the machinery devoted to that specific reformation. Civil government may be a divine or a devilish invention; a human priesthood may be a holy thing or a heresy; private property may be a natural or a foul and unnatural institution; but the gross physical chains of the slave can be struck off, and he be raised to a condition capable of progress, while all these things exist. On the anti-slavery platform the non-resistant is as good a man as the politician; the capitalist as he who abjures the accumulations of labor; the clergyman or the church-member as the Quaker or the '*Come-outer*.' They who have contributed time or money to the anti-slavery cause have a right to demand that that time or money be not diverted from an assault upon slavery to an attack upon their own opinions or practices; that when they come in good faith to join in the battle with the common enemy, that they be not obliged to defend themselves from the hands of their companions. If the politician use his political power, the non-resistant his moral force, the capitalist his money, the clergyman or the church-member his spiritual power and authority, honestly and in good faith, for the destruction of slavery, it is all that we have a right to ask. If they refuse so to use the various instrumentalities which they think it is their right and their duty to employ, then it is our duty to expose and de-

nounce their inconsistency, not with our principles, but with their own, and to exhort them to a more entire fidelity.

An anti-slavery society is not a church — for it claims and possesses no power of excision or excommunication. An attempt was once made to change it into one, and to exclude heretics and women from its pale; but it signally and ignominiously failed. We should ever be on our guard against the least disposition to exclude any human beings from our platform on account of religious or other opinions. We need all the help we can get in this our friendless warfare. Let us keep the true issue always clearly before the people — that we demand of every man professing to be a friend of liberty, a faithful application of his political and religious opinions, of his moral and social influence, of the civil rights and the ecclesiastical discipline he feels it to be his duty or his privilege to employ for the suppression of any crime, to the extermination of slavery. And let us never be diverted from the contemplation and maintenance of this true issue to the false one, on this platform, as to the abstract truth and absolute rightfulness of any of those opinions or those practices. And this policy we believe to be, as an honest policy must ever be, the truest expediency. We feel assured that there is no description of men who would not prefer to defend the divine origin, or the abstract rightfulness, of their office or their opinions, than to have their inconsistency with their own professions, and their infidelity to their own standard of duty, exposed and denounced before the people.

#### PROSPECTS, DANGERS AND DUTIES.

At the close of each successive year, we have reason to rejoice and take courage, in the thickening signs that portend the downfall of slavery. They whose eyes are open to watch the portents which surround them, see that slavery is overshadowed

by an inexorable Destiny, which is achieving her destruction with silent but inevitable power. Since the first word that was spoken, breaking the enchanted slumbers of the North, defying the sorceries and the power of Slavery, and demanding her instant destruction, every thing has seemed to conspire to accelerate her doom. The assaults of her avowed enemies have not been so fatal to her as the deadly embrace and destructive help of Northern and Southern defenders. The pride that goeth before a fall, and the madness that harbingers destruction, have both been hers. The more desperate her struggles, the more inextricably is she entangled in the meshes of her adversary's toils. The world is arrayed against her. Her champions are fainting for fear. Her mercenaries are deserting her for more profitable service. Even her own fastnesses are not sufficient to protect her. Voices are heard in the air, prophesying her fall. The prophetic words of the gallant Cassius M. Clay are heard within her borders. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, has just startled the dwellers on the plains of Carolina. Omens in the capitals of the nation and of the States, in the churches, in the saloons, in the market-place, in the work-shop, in the field and by the way side, tell that her hour is at hand. Ever memorable in the history of mankind will be the day that shall behold her numbered with the extinct monsters of a past and barbarous world.

The coming of that glorious day will be hastened or retarded by our fidelity or our unfaithfulness to the duty we have assumed. We are surrounded by enemies and by temptations on every side. We are tempted by impatience to distrust our tried philosophy of reform, and to try new and empiric schemes. We are tempted by the seductions of political parties and the fulminations of religious sects. We are tempted by our righteous indignation at the heartlessness or the profligacy of large and powerful classes of men to become exclusive and intolerant. We

are tempted by the lure of a false magnanimity to consent to a fatal reunion with men, whom we once trusted, but who betrayed and deserted us, and the cause they could not control for their own selfish purposes. We are tempted by the outcries of the open enemies and hollow friends of the cause, to forsake and abandon to their tender mercies, its best and most devoted friends. It is by opposing a resolute and watchful resistance to the temptations that beset us, that we shall be strengthened for the conflict, and conducted to the triumph.

At the commencement of their enterprise, the abolitionists took up an impregnable position, from which neither violence, blandishments nor treachery have been able to dislodge them. They made their platform as wide as the world, and as broad as humanity. They called all the lovers of freedom and of man to their assistance, and they undertook the mighty task of a nation's redemption by a nation's regeneration. Holding themselves aloof from political and sectarian biases, they urged their grand truth of the Duty of Immediate Emancipation with all the power they could command, upon the public mind. The result has been a change in the mind of the community, such as we believe was rarely if ever before accomplished in so short a time, by such scanty numbers and with such small resources. We feel encouraged by this success to persevere in our original policy, and to endeavor to preserve the disinterested and magnanimous position which the abolitionists assumed at the beginning. It is our generous task to enlighten the public mind, and to awaken the public conscience. We may safely leave to others the struggle for the posts of honor and profit, which exist but to register the edicts of the General Will. If we may generate the idea, in the mind of the people, of their duties and responsibilities towards the slave, it matters little who gives it form and utterance. We know that slavery cannot be abolished till the heart of the

people is changed. We know, too, that it cannot endure for a moment after that mighty change is accomplished. For this noble purpose was this earliest American Anti-Slavery Society established; to this end have we, its members, devoted the best years of our lives. Let us not faint nor become weary, now that we begin to see the first fruits of our labors, but ever apply ourselves with new zeal and fresh enthusiasm to our godlike task—  
THE REDEMPTION OF THE SLAVE BY THE REGENERATION OF THE  
FREE !





## TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

### RECEIPTS.

Balance in Treasury on settlement, January 23d, 1843 .....	\$367 74
Amount received from Finance Committee, collected at annual meeting.....	117 31
Amount of borrowed loan, to aid American Society, .....	400 00
Amount received on account of the bequest of the late Philander Ware, .....	1881 00
from Abner Belcher, of Wrentham, Trustee, }	
Amount received from proceeds of Fair of Ladies' Sewing Circle, Hingham	200 00
Amount received from proceeds of sale of lot of wood-land in Lancaster, }	
presented to the Society by John C. Gore of Roxbury, }	155 38
Amount received for sale of books to A. Brooke, Ohio, .....	22 00
Amount received of Dow & Jackson, on settlement of lease of office, Cornhill, 100	89
Amount received from societies and individuals, including all collections }	
by agents during the year, and published monthly in Liberator, }	299 38
Amount received from proceeds of Ladies' A. S. Fair at Nantucket, .....	100 00
Amount received from proceeds of Mass. Ladies' A. S. Fair in Boston.....	2000 00

Making a total of..... \$5643 70

### DISBURSEMENTS.

Amount paid expenses of annual meeting in January .....	\$45 25
Amount paid Addison Davis, agent, his collections.....	30 00
Amount paid for rent of office in Cornhill .....	284 63
Amount paid James Boyle, agent, .....	160 37
Amount paid Hiram Wilson, per order of S. Weymouth }	
Female Juvenile A. S. Society, their donation, }	2 00
Amount paid for printing Annual Report for 1843.....	70 60
Amount paid borrowed loan .....	400 00
Amount paid Grant & Daniel for paper for printing Annual Report.....	9 92
Amount paid postage bills, correspondence General Agent.....	16 93
Amount paid J. A. Collins in full.....	1198 61
Amount paid per order of Board, for travelling expenses }	
of the Hutchinsons in attending annual meeting, }	15 00
Amount paid for Anti-Slavery Almanacs.....	50 00
Amount paid for fire insurance on books at office, Cornhill, .....	7 50
Amount paid for expenses of Faneuil Hall meeting, and printing }	
O'Connell's Address, per order of the Board, }	35 53
Paid Geo. Bradburn, on acct Am. A. S. Soc. \$50, also N. P. Rogers 10, }	
and the Liberator 40, making a total of 100, being proceeds of Nan-	
tucket A. S. Fair, disbursed per order of their Treasurer, }	100 00
Paid to American A. S. Society, at sundry times, .....	928 00
Also by order of Board, the whole proceeds received from Mass. A. S. Fair, .....	2000 00

Total amount of disbursements,..... 5354 45

Leaving a balance in Treasury of..... 289 25

\$5643 70

E. E.

S. PHILBRICK, Treasurer.

Brookline, Jan. 23, 1844.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE.

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I HAVE examined the above account, and find the same duly vouched and properly cast and that there is a balance in the hands of the Treasurer, due to the Society, of two hundred and eighty-nine dollars and twenty-five cents.

S. E. SEWALL, Auditor.

Boston, January 23, 1844.

## THE WESTERN CONVENTIONS.



### TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

The whole amount of donations received into the Treasury was.....	\$1360 29
Amount collected by the Agents at the Conventions, .....	450 00
	<hr/>
Giving a total of.....	1810 29
	<hr/>
Expenses of the mission paid from the Treasury were,.....	1234 32
Travelling expenses were about.....	520 20
	<hr/>
Giving a total of.....	\$1754 32

The balance of cash remaining in the Treasury will be disposed of as the Board of Managers may direct.

It will be seen, that the contributions received on the route and at the Conventions, nearly equalled the expenses of the Agents employed.

If we add to the above the ready and generous hospitality and the gratuitous services of the noble friends of the slave at the West, in conveying our Agents from place to place through a great extent of country, and the voluntary service of several friends of the cause, especially of William A. White and Sydney H. Gay, the total cost of the expedition could not have been less than THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Boston, January 19, 1844.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer.*



## OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

### VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SETH SPRAGUE, Duxbury,	GEO. BRADBURN, Nantucket,
ANDREW ROBESON, N. Bedford,	SUMNER LINCOLN, Whateley,
NATH'L B. BORDEN, Fall River,	SAMUEL MAY, Leicester,
S. LATHROP, Cambridgeport,	HARRIS COWDREY, Acton,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Boston,	WILLIAM ADAM, Northampton,
SAMUEL J. MAY, Lexington,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	THEODORE P. LOCKE, Barre,
JOHN M. FISKE, W. Brookfield,	WILLIAM BASSETT, Lynn,
J. T. EVERETT, Princeton,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
E. L. CAPRON, Uxbridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, N. Bedford,
WM. B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOHN M. SPEAR, Weymouth,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	ZENAS RHOADES, N. Marlboro',
H. G. WOOD, Middleboro',	BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr. Fitchburg.
JOSIAH GIFFORD, Sandwich,	

### CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

### RECORDING SECRETARY.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Boston.

### TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

### AUDITOR.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, Boston.

### COUNSELLORS.

JOHN T. HILTON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA W. CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
EDMUND JACKSON,	CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,
CHARLES L. REMOND,	WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
ANNE W. WESTON,	HENRY I. BOWDITCH,



# APPENDIX.

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## THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

## MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

WAS held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, commencing on Wednesday, 24th January, 1844, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The Society was called to order by its President, FRANCIS JACKSON, of Boston.

Opportunity being given, a portion of the Bible was read, and prayer offered ; after which, the Society proceeded to business.

On motion of Henry W. Williams, William A. White of Wattertown, and Mary P. Kenney of Salem, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of Oliver Johnson, a committee on the Roll and Finance was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Sidney H. Gay, Cornelius Bramhall, and John R. French.

On motion of John A. Collins, William L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Edmund Quincy, and Thomas Earle, were appointed a committee to prepare business for the Society.

On motion of O. Johnson, a committee to nominate officers for the Society during the ensuing year, consisting of one person from each county, was appointed by the Chair, as follows : Messrs. Edmund Quincy of Norfolk, Amos Farnsworth of Middlesex, J. T. Everett of Worcester, E. D. Hudson of Hampshire, Christopher Robinson of Essex, Oliver Johnson of Suffolk, Jairus

Lincoln of Plymouth, Andrew Robeson of Bristol, David Hinckley of Barnstable, Jefferson Church of Hampden.

The Report of the Treasurer, for the last financial year, was presented and read by the Treasurer, Samuel Philbrick; showing a balance in the treasury of the Society of \$289 25; and, on motion of William A. White, was unanimously accepted.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was then read by Edmund Quincy, to whom, at the request of the Corresponding Secretary, the duty of its preparation had been confided.

On motion, Wm. A. White, Stephen S. Foster, and Abby Kelley were added to the Business Committee; after which, the Society adjourned.

#### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met at Faneuil Hall, at 2 1-2 o'clock.

The following resolution, presented by Wm. A. White, was adopted:

Resolved, That the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society are requested to have the Annual Report printed and ready for circulation at the commencement of each annual meeting.

The following resolutions were introduced by Mr. Garrison, chairman of the Business Committee; and, on motion, it was voted, that the first be now considered.

Resolved, That the Church of Christ, like its Head, has never held a slave—has never apologized for slavery—has never known a slaveholder as one of its members—has never stopped its ear to the cry of the poor—has never received the plunder of the poor with which to spread the gospel, circulate the Bible, publish tracts, or to establish Sunday schools; and has never held within its embrace dumb dogs which will not bark against the wrongs which crush humanity; therefore, the American Church, which perpetrates all these enormous crimes, is not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan.

Resolved, That the ballot-box is not an anti-slavery, but a pro-slavery argument, so long as it is surrounded by the United States Constitution, which forbids all approach to it, except on condition that the voter shall surrender fugitive slaves—suppress



negro insurrections — sustain a piratical representation in Congress—and regard man-stealers as equally eligible with the truest friends of human freedom and equality to any or all the offices under the United States Government.

Previous to the discussion, the following resolutions were introduced by Mr. Quincy, in behalf of the members of the Business Committee; and the sixth was placed for consideration with the resolution already under discussion:

1. Resolved, That, until the leading organs and influences of the Whig and Democratic parties, instead of being pro-slavery shall become anti-slavery, we strongly repudiate the idea that an abolitionist can consistently sustain either.

2. Resolved, That our sense of the inherent fallacy, as well as danger to our cause, of a distinct anti-slavery political party, impels us to utter a strong and solemn warning against joining or sustaining one, to all who are beginning to consider how they can help to abolish slavery.

3. Resolved, That the hostile origin and progress of the existing political organization, and the unworthy character of its leading influences, compel us, in justice to the anti-slavery enterprise, to repudiate strongly the idea that any enlightened abolitionist can consistently sustain the Third party, or accord to it the name of a Liberty party, until, instead of being pro-slavery, it shall become anti-slavery.

4. Resolved, That we welcome to our platform the honest abolitionist, of whatever political party, while, at the same time, we refuse to give that party the credit of his honesty, so long as it shall refuse to be guided by it, and deny the anti-slavery consistency of sustaining either of the three as at present constituted.

5. Resolved, That while we give great comparative approbation to the scattering of votes, or to independent temporary nomination for the more effectually influencing the existing parties to act for our cause, we deem it the only true and consistent position, to withhold support and sanction from the Constitution of the U. States; and to present to the consciences of our countrymen the duty of dissolving their connection with the government, until it shall have abolished slavery.

6. Resolved, That since we are bound by a sense of duty and

consistency to refuse our support to pro-slavery political arrangements, we cannot but be doubly solicitous to withdraw our sanction from all those religious institutions which are constantly forming the character of the people, and by the influence of which the political institutions are moulded, and do, therefore, as a measure of the plainest expediency in the conduct of our cause, as well as of the highest duty to enslaved humanity, recommend withdrawal from all churches which do not place slavery in the same category with crime.

7. Resolved, That we entreat all those members of churches who have separated from their respective pro-slavery bodies, that they may not be partakers of their sins, not to stop here, but to be instant in season and out of season in anti-slavery labors, and to unite with us as they did at first, now that they have found our principle of coming out and being separate from ecclesiastical pro-slavery to be a just one, and not (as they once thought it) a reason for leaving us.

The resolutions were commented on by Charles C. Burleigh, of Philadelphia; and after an enlivening song by the Hutchinsons, the discussion was continued by Messrs. Jewett, of Providence, R. I., Samuel J. May, of Lexington, who moved to amend the first resolution by substituting the word 'permits' for the word 'perpetrators,' and by striking out all after the words 'Church of Christ' in the last sentence; Edmund Quincy of Dedham, who moved to amend the amendment, by striking out the whole of the resolution introduced by the Business Committee. This amendment was opposed by Wm. A. White of W Watertown, and Stephen S. Foster of New-Hampshire; advocated by Addison Davis of Lynn, Charles L. Remond of Salem, Frederick Douglass of Lynn, Edmund Quincy of Dedham, and Abby Kelley; and, on motion, the Society voted to adjourn, after a song by the Hutchinsons.

After a spirited song, the vote to adjourn was reconsidered, and the question on the amendment, striking out the first resolution, was put, and lost; after which, on motion of James Boyle, the Society adjourned.

## WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall, pursuant to adjournment.

The resolutions under consideration at the time of adjournment were again taken up, and the question being taken upon the amendments proposed by Samuel J. May, those amendments were lost, and the discussion was further continued by Henry Clapp of New-Bedford, W. L. Garrison of Boston, and Lewis Clark of Kentucky. The last was welcomed to the platform by Edmund Quincy, who at the same time took occasion to express his regret that he had fallen, on his arrival in Massachusetts, among the insidious enemies of his cause, and had been by them employed in forwarding the purposes of new organization and Liberty party. Mr. Clark made an explanation of a few minutes' duration. The discussion was then continued by C. L. Remond of Salem, and after some desultory remarks, and a most delightful and inspiring song by the Hutchinsons, the question was taken on the resolutions, which were adopted as originally reported, and the Society adjourned to Thursday, at 9 o'clock.

## THURSDAY MORNING.

Convened, pursuant to adjournment, in Faneuil Hall.

After vocal prayer by Sumner Lincoln of Whateley, sundry letters, addressed to the President of the Society, were read by Wm. A. White.

After the election of the list of officers reported by Edmund Quincy,

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Samuel E. Sewall, for his long and faithful service as Auditor.

William Lloyd Garrison declined a re-election as Corresponding Secretary; whereupon, so much of the report as related to the nomination of that officer was referred back to the nominating committee, for further action.

The Chairman of the Business Committee reported the following resolution :

Resolved, That moral suasion is the great instrumentality by which to effect the peaceful abolition of American slavery; and, consequently, that they who sneer at or decry it, as in itself worthless, unless accompanied by physical force, are convicted

out of their own mouths of being destitute of faith in God, and in the omnipotence of truth.

Francis Jackson, Treasurer of the Hundred Conventions holden at the West, tendered his Report; which was accepted, and placed on file.

The resolutions which follow, from the Business Committee, were then introduced, and discussed by Wm. A. White, Jas. N. Buffum of Lynn, Douglass, Garrison, Jewett, John Levy of Lowell, J. M. Spear of Weymouth, Lewis Ford of Abington, Lewis Clarke, Lunsford Lane, and C. C. Burleigh. The resolutions were then adopted.

Whereas, owing to the absence of many of our most efficient lecturing agents, and to other unavoidable circumstances, the wants of the cause in Massachusetts have not received, for some months past, the measure of attention which their pressing importance requires; and whereas, the present is a favorable season for calling the attention of the people to their duties and responsibilities, in relation to the great reform in which we are engaged, and for scattering widely the seeds of anti-slavery truth; therefore,

1. Resolved, That the Board of Managers are hereby earnestly requested to make immediate provision for a series of

#### ONE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS,

To be held in such places within the limits of this Commonwealth as they may deem best, during the present winter and ensuing spring.

2. Resolved, That while it cannot reasonably be expected that all who go forth on this mission of love will be able, however willing, to labor without pecuniary support, and while we cheerfully recognize our obligation to render such support in all cases where it is necessary, we trust that many devoted and efficient helpers may be found, who will enlist in this important campaign as volunteers, for no other reward than that which must flow from the consciousness that they are laboring in the cause of Righteousness and Truth, and struggling to break the chains of the oppressed.

3. Resolved, That we hereby pledge our vigorous and hearty support to the Board of Managers, and to all who may engage in

this work of moral agitation, promising them our warmest sympathy, our most generous hospitality, and though last, not least, the most liberal pecuniary contributions to defray all needful expenses.

Adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

#### THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society convened agreeably to adjournment.

Wm. A. White presented and sustained the following :

Resolved, That all persons interested in the series of Conventions about to be held in our own State, are requested to enrol their names, either as volunteers to attend any number of the Conventions, to solicit subscriptions in their own towns or counties, or themselves to make contributions in aid of the cause.

The resolution was further considered by C. L. Remond, J. A. Collins, J. N. Buffum, Abby Kelley, J. P. Boyce of Lynn.

Voted, That a committee of six be appointed to pass around the hall, and take up subscriptions in behalf of the series of Conventions.

The following persons were constituted said committee, viz : Wm. A. White, Cornelius Bramhall, H. W. Williams, J. N. Buffum, S. H. Gay, J. M. Spear, and J. R. French.

Two delightful songs by the Hutchinsons followed, and the Society adjourned to 6 1-2 o'clock.

#### THURSDAY EVENING.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, in Fanenil Hall; and its session was opened by a most inspiring song from the Hutchinsons.

Stephen S. Foster presented a 'Protest against the Constitution of the United States'—as follows :

#### PROTEST

*Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society against the Constitution of the United States and the Union.*

We, the officers and members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in the city of Boston, this 25th day of January, A. D. 1844, do hereby publicly record our solemn

PROTEST against the Constitution of the United States, and the Union between the Northern and Southern States of this Confederacy, for the following reasons :—

1. Because the Constitution prohibits us from giving succor and protection to fugitive slaves, when pursued by their masters, and requires that such ‘shall be given up’ to be returned into slavery; thereby imposing upon us, as citizens of a non-slaveholding State, the menial and degrading duty of guarding the plantations of Southern slave-masters—a duty more vile and infamous, in the eyes of the civilized world, than that of the miscreant slave-driver, who is stimulated to his loathsome task by the hope of pecuniary reward.

2. Because, in the event of an attempt by the slaves to throw off their chains, and assert their freedom by a resort to arms, in imitation of the example of the founders of this republic, the Constitution requires us to aid in furnishing a sufficient military and naval force to compel their submission—which requisition makes us, emphatically, SLAVEHOLDERS, and compels us, contrary to our own convictions of duty and high sense of honor, to trample on the glorious sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, dishonor the memories of our fathers, who fought and bled in their defence, and render ourselves base and despicable hypocrites, who, while prating of liberty and man’s inalienable rights, stand pledged before the world to fight the battles of slavery.

3. Because the Constitution, contrary to the principles of natural justice and republican equality, grants to the slaveholding States a property representation in Congress, and thereby greatly enhances the power and temptation to hold slaves, by paying a bonus to the master in the shape of an increase of political power in the councils of the nation.

4. Because, through the power of Southern influence, slavery, and that most execrable species of piracy, the slave-trade, are legalized in our national capital; and we, in common with other citizens of the North, are taxed for the erection of prisons for the accommodation of slave-traders.

5. Because we regard a political union and alliance with slaveholders, (man-stealers,) under all circumstances, as a curse and

crime—a sin against God, and a foul blot upon our characters, for which no conceivable advantages could compensate.

6. Because slavery, throughout the entire South, depends upon the Union for its existence; or, in the words of Mr. Underwood of Kentucky, on the floor of Congress, ‘The dissolution of the Union is the dissolution of slavery’—and to sanction and sustain a Union thus ‘gloated and cemented with the blood and marrow’ of millions of our countrymen, would be to draw down upon ourselves and our common country the righteous indignation and just judgments of our Creator, who has given to all an equal right to freedom.

7. Because our colored fellow-citizens are utterly denied the rights of citizenship throughout the slave-claiming States, and in many cases are thrown into loathsome prisons, and finally sold into perpetual slavery, to defray the expense of their imprisonment.

8. Because, under the existing compact, according to a recent decision of the Supreme Court, any northern freeman may be seized by a vagrant southerner, and claimed as his property; if so claimed, he is denied the right of trial by jury, and must be sent into slavery—provided the person claiming him, can satisfy one of the Judges of the Supreme, or the Circuit Court of the United States, that he has previously robbed him of his liberty.

9. Because, if known to be abolitionists, we can have no protection for our persons or property in any of the slave-claiming States, but are virtually outlawed and exposed to the halter and faggot throughout the entire South, and that, too, with the connivance of the civil authorities of those States.

10. Because large rewards have been offered by the Legislatures and people of several of the southern States, for the abduction of some of our most valued citizens; and these rewards still remain uncanceled.

11. Because a worthy citizen of Ohio has recently been mulcted \$1700, on two verdicts rendered against him in the Circuit Court of the United States, in favor of a Kentucky slaveholder, for assisting a distressed family in making their escape from slavery.

12. Because three citizens of a northern State, of blameless lives and uncommon moral worth, have recently been sentenced, for a term of twelve years, to the State prison of one of the slave States, for an act of philanthropy which none but thieves and pirates could condemn, and of which we should glory to have been the authors.

13. Because the union of the northern with the southern States of this confederacy is, in every point of view, far more guilty, disgraceful and oppressive to the North, than the union of Ireland with Great Britain — a connexion which most of us are now seeking by the whole weight of our influence to dissolve.

14. Because while we of the North have been taxed seven millions of dollars, within the last fourteen years, to support the Post Office department in the South, the chivalrous people who thus depend upon us to pay their postage, have rewarded our generosity by rifling the mails of our letters and other papers, and publicly consigning them to the flames, or in some other way withholding them from the persons to whom they were directed.

15. Because the sacred right of petition has been cloven down on the floor of Congress by the slave power, and our prayers and memorials cast unheeded and unread under the Speaker's table, or thrown back with oaths and imprecations into our teeth.

16. Because our constitutional rights, as citizens, to the liberty of speech and of the press, are totally abrogated throughout the South; and we are denied the privilege of remonstrating with the people of those States against the wicked, disgraceful, and oppressive institutions which we are compelled by the Constitution to support.

17. Because our Representatives in Congress are habitually exposed to insult and personal abuse from slaveholding bullies, duellists, and assassins; and are compelled either to compromise the rights and interests of their constituents, or defend them in face of the dirks, pistols and bowie-knives of a southern overseership.

18. Because the northern States have recently been compelled by the slave power to furnish no less than \$30,000,000 to carry



on a bloody and disgraceful war with the Seminole Indians, the main object of which was the recapture of fugitive slaves.

19. Because the experience of more than half a century has convinced us, that Liberty and Slavery cannot co-exist under the same government; and that our only hope for the recovery and perpetuity of our own rights and liberties, is in a total dissolution of all political connexion with those States which make merchandize of their own citizens.

20. Because, finally, we have no inducement to perpetuate a connexion, which, from its origin, has been characterized by a constant sacrifice of our rights and interests at home, and of our reputation and influence abroad, and has already drawn down upon us the indignant and burning rebukes of the friends of freedom, and the bitter taunts of tyrants throughout the civilized world—a connexion which, while it can do us no possible good, subjects us to continued insult and outrage from the very men who are dependant upon us for protection of themselves and their families from the avenging arm of those whom they have deeply injured.

For the reasons here enumerated, and others of similar import to which we might refer, we now publicly **ABJURE OUR ALLEGIANCE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNION**, and place the broad seal of our reprobation on this unnatural and unholy alliance between Liberty and Slavery. The Union, in our judgment, is not only at war with the law and government of God, and destructive of the peace, the honor, and prosperity of the North, but of no *real* benefit to the South, since it serves to delay the 'day of her visitation,' only to plunge her the deeper into infamy and ruin. We therefore declare its obligations, so far as they relate to ourselves, utterly *null* and *void*; and we now publicly pledge ourselves to seek, in all suitable ways, its peaceful dissolution.

We shall accept of no office under the Constitution of the United States, as long as slavery remains an element of the government; nor shall we aid in electing others to fill such offices. But throwing ourselves back upon our natural rights, and the legitimate principles of revolution, we (or such of us as may think proper to go to the polls,) shall hereafter employ the ballot-box

to make known our opposition to the Union, and break up this iniquitous alliance, to which we are still compelled to give support.

For the purity of our motives in thus seeking to dissolve a connection, which, from our childhood, we have been taught to hallow and revere, we appeal to the Almighty Ruler of the universe, on whom we mainly depend for the success of our enterprise. And while we invoke His blessing on our efforts to emancipate our countrymen from their chains, and free ourselves from guilt, by breaking the fatal league on which their enthrallment mainly depends, we earnestly invite the friends of freedom throughout the North to unite with us in this measure; and hereafter to vote for REPEAL, instead of casting their ballots for abolitionists for office, which they cannot fill without first taking an oath to support and defend the slave power.

Henceforth, let REPEAL be our watchword and rallying cry; and to this point let our efforts be especially directed, till slavery shall be abolished, or the league which now binds us to that execrable institution, and unites our destinies, in peace and in war, with the destinies of the guilty slavemaster, shall be finally broken.

In behalf of the Society.

Mr Foster was followed by W. L. Garrison, who presented the following resolution, embodying in a brief form the same propositions, which he supported in a forcible speech :

Whereas, no political union can possibly exist between free-men and slaveholders, nor can they possibly agree to form any such union, on the basis of equal rights; and

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity — was adopted by a bloody compromise, involving the sacrifice of the bodies and souls of millions of the people, and the loss of universal liberty — and enforces obligations and duties which are incompatible with the enjoyment of freedom and equal rights; and

Whereas, the natural consequences of such an unholy compact have followed its adoption in swift and frightful succession — to wit, the wide extension and vigorous perpetuity of the slave system and the slave market — the multiplication of the victims

of slavery from half a million to nearly three millions — the robbery of the North of a vast amount of its hard-earned wealth, and the degradation and impoverishment of Northern laborers — the imprisonment and enslavement of Northern seamen on account of their complexion — the denial of the right of petition, of speech and of representation, in Congress, to freemen — the utter corruption of the morals and religion of the land — and, finally, the outlawry, from one half of the republic, of all those who really embrace and practically carry out the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, in regard to inalienable rights; therefore,

Resolved, That the national compact, being in principle and practice an insupportable despotism, and from its inception before God null and void, it is the right, it is the duty of all the friends of impartial liberty and a righteous government to withdraw their allegiance from this compact, and by a moral and peaceful revolution to effect its overthrow.

J. F. A. Calder was then introduced to the meeting, who made statements in relation to his treatment in Norfolk, Va., and Charleston, S. C. The rehearsal of his sufferings and narrow escape was listened to by the immense assembly with feelings of amazement, indignation and horror.

The discussion of the resolutions was then continued by David Lee Child, of New-York; Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia; and Stephen S. Foster; and after a song by the Hutchinsons, the Society adjourned.

#### FRIDAY MORNING.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall, and was called to order by the President.

After the reading of a portion of the Bible, and a prayer, Addison Davis called for the report of the Committee appointed last year to investigate the case of Thomas Haskell. E. D. Hudson requested to be excused from serving on said Committee. He was so excused, and Oliver Johnson was appointed to fill the vacancy. The Committee was allowed further time.

Oliver Johnson, from the Committee on Nominations, reported the name of Edmund Quincy to fill the office of Corresponding

Secretary, and of William Lloyd Garrison to fill the vacancy in the Board of Counsellors, caused by the appointment of Mr. Quincy as Corresponding Secretary; which report was accepted, and those gentlemen were elected to fill those offices during the ensuing year.

On motion, the resolutions and protest under discussion at the hour of adjournment last evening, were laid on the table for the purpose of further consideration of the subject of Finance.

On motion of John A. Collins, a Committee of one from each town was appointed to confer with each other and the Board of Managers, in relation to the best means to be adopted relative to the proposed series of Conventions in Massachusetts.

The Committee was appointed, as follows:

Maria W. Chapman, Boston; J. N. Buffum, Lynn; Henry Clapp, New-Bedford; Joseph L. Noyes, Georgetown; Mary P. Kenney, Eliza J. Kenney, Charles L. Remond, Salem; Charles Butler, Newburyport; H. W. Foster, John Levy, Lowell; Amos Farnsworth, Samuel C. Wheeler, Groton; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Joseph R. Engley, Walpole; Abner Belcher, Wrentham; T. C. Ray, New-Bedford; Francis Wood, Worcester; John M. Fiske, West Brookfield; E. D. Hudson, Northampton; Thomas Haskell, Gloucester; Frederick S. Cabot, West Roxbury; Lewis Ford, Abington; Rebecca T. Pool, E. Abington; Noah Jackman, North Attleboro'; Ignatius Sargent, Annisquam; William A. White, Watertown; Samuel May, Leicester; Caroline G. Bartlett, West Newbury; George Harmon, Haverhill; Samuel Barrett, Concord; Hiram A. Morse, Holliston; Josiah V. Marshall, Dorchester; — Dresser, Milford; Levi D. Smith, Stoneham; John M. Spear, Weymouth; William B. Tilden, Norton; Asa Brett, East Stoughton; Jonas Parker, Reading; William Davis, Milton; J. A. Goodrich, Waltham; Edward G. Perry, Hanson; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; Richard Hood, Danvers; Larkin Woodbury, Manchester; Samuel Russell, Middleton; Joseph Kingman, West Bridgewater; Wm. G. Eaton, North Bridgewater; J. T. Everett, Princeton; Warren Low, Essex; Thomas Wooldridge, Marblehead; R. B. Rogers, Rufus R. Cook, Chelsea; Stephen Bakrer, Quincy; S. S. Smith, Hingham; John Cushing, South Hingham; Edward Doane, Cohasset;

Wm. Thomas, Kingston; Zilpha Harlow, Plymouth; Rufus Bates, Hanover; Stephen Barker, Methuen; T. Clark, Andover.

Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia, presented the following resolution :

Resolved, That we entirely approve of the resolution, adopted at repeated meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in opposition to the support of any candidates for offices connected with legislation, unless such candidates be unequivocally favorable to the immediate abrogation of all laws and constitutional provisions which sustain slavery; and we do respectfully recommend to the Executive Committee of the American Society, and to the editor of its official organ, the support of this principle; and we also in like manner recommend the abstinence of the official organ of the American Society from all interference in disputes between the great political parties of the country, unless those disputes relate to questions palpably connected with the anti-slavery cause.

Stephen S. Foster presented the following :

Resolved, That as the Constitution of the United States guarantees the support and protection of the slave power, all who acknowledge allegiance to the federal government are, emphatically, slaveholders, and as such, are justly chargeable with all the guilt inherent in the slave system.

On motion of William A. White, the above resolutions were laid on the table, for the purpose of resuming the consideration of the resolution and protest of last evening. These were discussed by N. P. Rogers of Concord, N. H., Wm. A. White, and S. S. Foster.

N. P. Rogers presented the following resolutions :

Resolved, That freedom of opinion and action are the birth-right prerogative of every human being; and that no violence ought in any case to be done to it, in the prosecution of reform; and least of all, in such a reform as anti-slavery; that, therefore, no military, judicial, legislative, political or other brute force instrumentality can rightfully be resorted to, in the accomplishment of the anti-slavery enterprise.

Resolved, That the United States Constitution providing for the recapture of fugitive slaves in the 'free States,' no abolitionist, if he is a politician, can consistently take any political action under it, either by holding office or voting, and that the only consistent anti-slavery political action, if there could be any, would be to go for the radical amendment or overthrow of the Constitution and the government.

William A. White offered the following :

Resolved, That a committee of      be appointed to draw up a petition to Congress, demanding to be freed from all support and connection with slavery, and if this cannot be effected, a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That the abovementioned petition be circulated throughout the State, under the sanction of the agents of this Society.

Discussion upon the protest and resolutions referring to the dissolution of the Union, was further continued by John Pierpont of Boston, and Edmund Quincy.

A letter from Cassius M. Clay was read by William Lloyd Garrison, and the Society adjourned to 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

#### FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment. John M. Fiske, of West Brookfield, a Vice-President, in the chair.

Voted, That each speaker be limited to fifteen minutes, and speak but once until all others desiring to speak have spoken.

The protest and resolution before the meeting at the time of adjournment, were further discussed by E. T. Perry, D. L. Child, and C. C. Burleigh, and then laid upon the table.

Francis Jackson, the President, then entered upon the duties of the Chair.

The resolutions referring to John Quincy Adams, were then taken up, discussed by William Lloyd Garrison, and adopted—as follows :

Whereas, this Society has heretofore expressed its approbation of a portion of the public conduct of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, supposed to have some connection with the subject of slavery ; and from the views taken by the people of this country

and of the civilized world, of his supposed connection with the anti-slavery enterprise, his acts and opinions may be taken as generally receiving our countenance and approbation ;

Therefore, we feel imperiously bound publicly to protest against the course of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, for the following among other reasons, viz :

Because he has asserted that immediate abolition is ‘utterly impracticable, and a moral and physical impossibility.’

Because he has asserted, in substance, that the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia would be a violation of the principles of the Declaration of American Independence, which proclaims the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Because he has asserted that the repeal, by Congress, without the consent of a majority of the people of the District of Columbia, of that law by which the people of the whole Union aid in enslaving men in that District, would be a violation of republican principles, and especially of the doctrine of the right of the majority to govern ; thus, in effect, conceding to the people of that District the right to make the whole Union confederates in their crimes, but denying the right of the whole Union to suppress those crimes.

Because he has alleged that with the Constitution as it is, and implied that even with a change of the Constitution, the government cannot rightfully emancipate any of the present generation of slaves, either in the territories of the Union or elsewhere.

Because he has proposed to suffer not only the present generation of slaves, but also all born of slave parents for seven years yet to come, to live and die in a state of servitude — forced so to remain by the act of the government and people of this Union.

Because he has recently proclaimed the absurd dogma, that it is ‘*impossible*’ to abolish slavery in this country until it shall have been first abolished by the ‘barbarian people’ of Africa.

Because he has declared that the principles of democracy are those of truth and Christianity, and that every man who professes democracy, and holds a slave, has hypocrite stamped on his forehead ; and yet he has recently applauded a professor of democracy, the owner of some fifty slaves, and the avowed op-

ponent of emancipation, gradual or immediate, (HENRY CLAY,) as not only one of the ablest men with whom he had ever co-operated, but also one of the most amiable and worthy; and this in a manner uncalled for, and with an apparent intention of promoting the success of that slaveholder as a candidate for the first office in our government.

Because he has supported the admission of Arkansas into the Union as a slaveholding State, and has avowed himself favorable to the admission of Florida in the same manner.

Because he has recently published a doubt, whether it is not better for Africans to be in slavery in America, than in freedom in their native country.

Because he has lately proclaimed, in reference to slavery, the doctrine that the laws of man are entitled to more obedience than the laws of God.

Because while he has often expressed the utmost indignation and the severest censure, in reference to encroachments by slaveholders upon the rights of Northern freemen, he has rarely uttered a word to portray the manifold wrongs done to the slave, to express the least indignation at those wrongs, or to excite the least feeling of commiseration on his behalf.

Because after having for years amused the abolitionists with the idea that he believed immediate emancipation in the District of Columbia constitutional, and with the hope that he would support it as soon as a majority should favor it, he has recently crushed those hopes by the annunciation, for the first time, of a different construction of the Constitution.

Because while holding a seat in Congress by the votes of abolitionists, he has never attempted to obtain a vote of that body on any measure for effecting the emancipation of a single slave, or for effecting the abolition of slavery any where, by any process, either gradual or immediate.

Because he avowed that his object, in wishing to refer petitions for immediate abolition in the District of Columbia to a Committee, was to put the question permanently to rest in the negative: and he also declared, that the Southern members of Congress often expressed his opinions on this subject more nearly than those of the North.



Because while professing to be the defender of the right of petition, and in some cases nobly sustaining that right, he has, nevertheless, moved and obtained the passage of a rule, which consigned our petitions privately to the Speaker for suppression, without any public annunciation of the fact of their presentation; and he has, from the time of the proposed resolutions for censuring him, to the present day, altogether neglected or refused to present a single one of the petitions entrusted to him of the same character with that which led to the motion for a vote of censure upon his conduct.

All of which actions and declarations combined show a lamentable imperfection of head or of heart, or of both together combined, and demonstrate the necessity of checking the propensity to promote the exaltation of Mr. Adams's reputation, which would give currency to his pernicious opinions, and applause to his defective action; and of proclaiming to the world that we neither encourage political support of the man, nor approve of the general course of his public opinions or conduct, in reference to slavery.

The first four resolutions presented by the Business Committee, relating to political action, were then taken up, and discussed by S. S. Foster. The time allotted to each speaker having expired, it was

Voted, That S. S. Foster be permitted an extension of time; whereupon Mr. Foster proceeded, and was followed by S. H. Gay, who proposed an amendment to the third resolution, by striking out all after the word resolved, and inserting

Whereas, the party known by the name of Liberty party had its origin, as we believe, in this section of the country, in hostility to the American Society, and in principles essentially sectarian, base, and slavish in their tendency; and as connected with its inception were certain acts, dishonorable and immoral, committed by men who have ever since held, and do still hold, a high place in the affection and esteem of many of its members; therefore,

Resolved, That the attitude of hostility which we have heretofore maintained towards this party, has been one essential to the integrity of our cause, and by it those great principles by

which we have endeavored always to be governed, and which are the foundation of the platform of the American Society, have become the acknowledged governing principles of the anti-slavery action of the country.

And whereas, we learn from those agents who have been located in Western New-York, and from those who have recently returned from an anti-slavery tour in some of the States farther West and South, that these principles are openly avowed and advocated by the members of the Liberty party in that section of country, and that Liberty party with them is but the *political* developement of these principles; and whereas, the question as to the expediency of the formation of a political anti-slavery party is no longer an open one, inasmuch as such a party has become a positive fixed fact, and should now be considered as an anti-slavery instrumentality, if grounded upon true principles; therefore,

Resolved, That we see in Liberty party, as it exists in the West, an exponent of the anti-slavery sentiment and feeling of its members, and that, believing them to be actuated by those principles for which we have all along contended, so long as they maintain this ground, we have no contention with them on this subject.

And Resolved also, That we have confidence in the anti-slavery feeling of many of the members of the Liberty party at home, but would urge them, as they love the cause of the slave, to abandon the false position which they now occupy, that we may be enabled to extend to them also, the right hand of fellowship, and welcome them to our platform, that all may work harmoniously together for the consummation of our glorious enterprise.

The resolutions were further discussed by Abby Kelley, Wm. A. White, and Edmund Quincy; after which, they were laid on the table.

The resolves in relation to political action were again taken up, and commented on by Thomas Earle; after which, the Society adjourned to meet in the Representatives' Hall in the State House, at 7 o'clock.

## FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society met in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State House, and was called to order by its President, Francis Jackson.

The resolutions under consideration at the time of the afternoon adjournment, came up in order, and, on motion of David L. Child, they were laid on the table, to allow an opportunity for fixing the time of adjournment. He moved, that when the Society adjourn, it adjourn to meet in Amory Hall to-morrow, at 9 o'clock; but withdrew the motion before action.

On motion of W. L. Garrison, the resolutions in relation to the Constitution of the United States were then taken up for consideration, and discussed by C. C. Burleigh, Wendell Phillips of Boston, and S. S. Foster; after which, J. N. Buffum moved that when the Society adjourn, it adjourn sine die.

Abby Kelley moved to amend, by substituting for the words 'sine die,' 'to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock, A. M. at Amory Hall'; which was adopted; and the vote as amended passed; after which, the Society adjourned accordingly.

## SATURDAY MORNING.

Convened pursuant to adjournment. Opportunity for prayer was given.

The resolutions relating to the dissolution of the Union were laid upon the table.

Wendell Phillips presented the following petition and resolution, which were adopted:

*To the Senate and House of Representatives  
of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:*

The petition of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society respectfully represents, that at the last session of the Legislature a petition, commonly called the Latimer petition, was presented with the signatures of about sixty thousand of the people of this Commonwealth, asking, among other things, that such amendments of the national Constitution should be proposed as would forever separate the people of this State from all connection with slavery: — that the other portions of the petition were acted upon,

but no direct vote was taken on that to which we have above referred. We therefore respectfully ask, that your honorable body will be pleased to take speedy and definitive action favorable to the said proposition.

Resolved, That the foregoing petition be signed by the officers of this meeting, and presented to the Legislature; and that a committee of        be appointed to have charge of the same.

The resolutions referring to John Q. Adams were, on motion of D. L. Child, reconsidered.

These resolutions were then discussed by D. L. Child in opposition, Garrison, Remond and Earle, in favor, and were then adopted by an almost unanimous vote.

Voted, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the officers of this meeting, be forwarded to John Quincy Adams.

The resolutions on political action were taken up.

S. H. Gay withdrew the amendment to Resolution No 3, and offered it as a separate resolution.

Mr. Garrison introduced the following, which was subsequently adopted :

Resolved, That the man who has conspired to betray the anti-slavery cause into the hands of its most insidious foes, religious bigotry and sectarianism—to drive from the anti-slavery platform all those who cannot conscientiously exercise the elective franchise—to gag the anti-slavery women in the United States in public meetings—to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society, by withdrawing from it in a spirit of hostility, and giving his support to a rival association, organized expressly to cover that Society with infamy—and to convey away unjustly the official organ and depository of the American Society—is a man not deserving of the approval or support of any genuine abolitionist—and that James Gillespie Birney is that man; and that the political party, which sustains such a man for the Presidency of the United States, is demonstrably either corrupt or misguided, and in either case, unworthy of anti-slavery countenance.

The first resolution in regard to political action was adopted.\*

\* See page 77 for this resolution. The ones numbered 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7, immediately following it, were also adopted, together with the one respecting the Church, on page 7.

The second resolution on the same subject was discussed by Lewis Clarke, W. Phillips, S. S. Foster, J. N. Buffum, and Maria W. Chapman.

Thomas Earle moved to amend by adding the following, which amendment was adopted :

And as a measure for obviating the imagined necessity of a third party, we suggest to voting abolitionists the expediency of making temporary nominations for office, when no candidates favorable to radical abolitionism are offered by the existing whig or democratic parties, with the distinct declaration that such measure is only temporary, and that our candidates will be withdrawn when the parties offer those which are suitable.

It was further amended, by striking out the word 'distinct,' and inserting 'permanent,' and adopted.

The third resolution was discussed by Foster, Clapp, Milton Clark, Garrison, Abby Kelley, J. M. Fiske, Mr. Henshaw, Phillips and Mellen.

It was then moved to lay the resolve on the table, but that motion was lost; and after further discussion by Wm. A. White, the previous question was ordered, and the resolution adopted.

W. L. Garrison presented the following, which were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the unanimous determination of the Whig party to support as their Presidential candidate HENRY CLAY, the hardened, incorrigible slaveholder—the determined and desperate foe of the anti-slavery movement—the man among the most guilty for the extension and perpetuity of slavery in this land—calls for the burning rebuke of every friend of freedom and humanity, and should reinspire the abolitionists of the whole country with a resolute and an invincible determination to expose the unblushing profligacy of that party, and to defeat the election of Henry Clay

Resolved, That the nomination of Martin Van Buren or John C. Calhoun, for the Presidency of the United States, by the democratic party, will be an act of monstrous turpitude, and will cover that party afresh with infamy for its base subserviency to the slaveholding power.

J. N. Buffum, in behalf of the Committee on the Hundred Conventions, stated that the Committee, owing to want of time

and documents, were unable to report, and asked leave to report to the Board of Managers, which was granted.

The fourth resolution on political action was adopted.

On motion, it was

Voted, That the protest of S. S. Foster against the Constitution of the United States be published, though not acted on by the Society.

The sixth and seventh resolutions of the Business Committee were adopted.

The following, presented by W. L. Garrison, was also adopted :

Resolved, That the assurance of the warmest gratitude of this Society jointly, and of all its members severally, for the cause's sake, be presented to the friends in the West, who so nobly seconded the movement of the Hundred Conventions by their generous contributions and hospitality.

Voted, That the Committee to present the Petition of this Society to the State Legislature be appointed by the Board of Managers.

The Society then adjourned sine die.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.

HENRY W. WILLIAMS,	} <i>Secretaries</i> .
WILLIAM A. WHITE,	
MARY P. KENNY,	

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NOTE to page 79, touching the election of officers.—Mr. S. E. Sewall was unanimously elected again to the office of Auditor, which he had so long and so worthily filled. Upon his subsequently declining to serve, the vote of thanks was passed.



